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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

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The League was honored by the National Citizens Committee for Educational Television during a broadcast of America's Town Meeting of the Air last month. Raymond H. Wittcoff, chairman of the committee, presented a citation to Dr. George H. Gallup, League president, praising the League's support of educational TV. Photo shows Mr. Wittcoff reading the citation. Dr. Gallup is at his left.

News of the League

1955 Conference to Be in Seattle

For the first time since 1912, the National Conference on Government will be held on the west coast next year.

The National Municipal League Council has voted unanimously to hold the 61st Annual Conference in Seattle, Washington, July 24 to 27, 1955. Officers of the League and others who attend the annual session regularly are already making plans to combine attendance at the Seattle meeting with a vacation trip through the Pacific Northwest and the Canadian Rockies.

The 1955 conference will be held in conjunction with the Twentieth Annual Institute of Government of the University of Washington.

A large delegation from Seattle attended the 60th Annual National Conference on Government in Kansas City last month with a view to bringing the function, the only one of its kind in the United States, to their city. The formal invitation was extended by Ben B. Ehrlichman, president of the First National Corporation, Seattle, and regional vice president of the National Municipal League; C. A. Crosser, executive secretary of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County; and Donald Webster, director of the Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington. The Seattle group lobbied for the 1955 Conference by distributing "Delicious" apples, Indian-made totem poles, and six-inch Douglas firs advertised to grow to 80 feet.

Five other cities vied for the honor of playing host to the conference. They were: Cleveland, Ohio; Dayton, Ohio; Fort Wayne, Indiana; Phoenix, Arizona; and Washington, D. C.

Mr. Ehrlichman was named general conference chairman for 1955 by the League's Council.

The first National Conference on Government was held in Philadelphia in 1894. Since then the meeting has been held in the far west only once—in Los Angeles in 1912.

Conference in Pictures

The 60th Annual National Conference on Government, held last month in Kansas City, Missouri, broke several records. The registration was larger than ever. The number of out-of-town delegates exceeded that in previous years. The attendance at luncheon meetings attained a new high. Public interest, as manifested by local coverage by newspapers, radio and television and by the presence of more than twenty out-of-town correspondents, reached a new peak. The story of the conference is told in pictures on these two pages and on pages 614 and 615. As in recent years, those who framed the conference program have operated on the principle, "All work and no play," etc., etc. One of the features of this year's meeting was a steak roast at the renowned Saddle & Sirloin Club, outside of Kansas City. Out-of-town visitors, guests of the local conference committee, first repaired to the bar (above), received steaks of grand proportions (left), and then did away with them in the club's dining room (below). Entertainment followed.

OPPOSITE PAGE: An innovation at the Kansas City conference was a daily breakfast meeting (top), at which members of each panel got together and planned their sessions. All agreed that this preparation made for smoother performance in each of the 21 panels on the program. Addresses by the luncheon speakers at the conference, Thomas R. Reid, Mrs. Dorothy N. Dolbey and Dr. George H. Gallup (left to right, center), may be found in this issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. Huge gathering at the final luncheon of the conference (bottom) provided a suitable climax to the varied four-day program.

Hotel
PRESIDENT

Members of the Council of the League held their annual meeting in Kansas City following the 60th Annual National Conference on Government. Sitting around the table from left to right are: Mark S. Matthews, Ben B. Ehrlichman, John Nuveen, Jac Chambliss, Lee M. Sharrar, John S. Linen, Bayard H. Faulkner, L. P. Cookingham, Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Francis A. Harrington, Richard S. Childs, George H. Gallup, Alfred Willoughby, Carl H. Pforzheimer, Thomas Graham, Mrs. Albert D. Cash, John E. Bebout, L. E. Marlowe, E. Bartlett Brooks, Robert H. Rawson, Arthur W. Bromage, Alex R. Thomas, Lloyd Hale and Allen H. Seed, Jr.

League Names Gallup, Linen, Others

Dr. George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, was reelected president of the National Municipal League at its annual meeting in Kansas City, Missouri, last month.

John S. Linen, vice president of the Chase National Bank of New York, and George S. Van Schaick, counsel of Oliver and Donnally and former New York State Superintendent of Insurance, were reelected vice presidents.

The following were elected regional vice presidents:

Jac Chambliss, Chattanooga, Tennessee, lawyer and civic leader; Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Michigan, director of civic affairs, Ford Motor Company; and Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Connecticut, former president, United States Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Newly elected members of the Council are: Herbert Emmerich, Chicago, director, Public Administration Clearing House; Francis A. Harrington, Worcester, Massachusetts, former president, Citizens' Plan "E" Association of Worcester; Arthur B. Richardson, New York City, president, Chesebrough Manufacturing Company; James M. Osborn, New Haven, Connecticut, research professor of English, Yale University; Major General Otto L. Nelson, Jr., USA retired, Princeton, New Jersey, vice president, New York Life Insurance Company.

Also Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, New York, former lieutenant governor and comptroller of New York State and president, Governmental Affairs Foundation; L. E. Marlowe, Richmond, Virginia, former president, Richmond Citizens Association; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids, Michigan, former president, League of Women Voters of Michigan and of Grand Rapids; Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse, New York, former vice president, American Political Science Association; and Robert H. Rawson, Cleveland, Ohio, former chairman, Citizens Committee for the Ohio Constitution.

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Editorial Comment

Risks in the Two-party System

A GOOD deal was said during the recent campaign about the supposed apathy of the voters and the prospect of a light vote. Now that the late returns are in, it appears that the vote was light, the contrary statements of election night news analysts notwithstanding.

Other things being equal, a large vote is a good thing. The extent of chronic non-voting in our country is a danger signal that we ought to heed. The danger, however, cannot be disposed of by berating the non-voters. Unless they are driven to the polls as they are behind the iron curtain most people are not inclined to vote just for the fun of it or as a matter of form. Most of us need to have something to vote for or against to get us to the polls under our own power. Often what passes for apathy or indifference is really a considered conclusion either that a given election is unimportant or that it is impossible for the voter to tell which way his interest really lies.

It appears obvious that many voters decided to sit out the recent campaign because the candidates and their spokesmen had not given them a valid basis for the kind of convictions that take them to the polls. In some states and districts issues did become clearer and choices easier to make as election day drew near and some of the doubtful voters made up their minds.

On the other hand, some of the increased interest may have been due not so much to more light as to the greater heat generated during the closing days of the campaign by orators on both sides. People do respond to heat as well as to light. When their prejudices or dormant emotions are aroused, it is quite possible for them to develop a false sense of clarity and conviction. The closer the contest is, the more important the emotional reactions of a minority of the voters may be.

The elections of 1952 and 1954 seem to demonstrate that for the time being national elections and elections in an increasing number of states, both south and north, are likely to be close and energetically contested. This should be a good thing. It is generally taken for granted that democracy is best served by the two-party system. It certainly is true that voter participation is heavier where election contests are real and the outcome is not obvious before the votes are cast. The current trend should invigorate the parties and reduce the sharpness of old sectional divisions.

On the other hand, the two-party system involves risks and entails obligations which we ignore at our peril. A major risk is that, when contests are habitually close, campaigners are tempted to resort to cheap tricks and demagogic devices to corral votes that are for sale to the highest emotional bidder. This is a temptation to which spokesmen for both our parties have succumbed much too often for the good of the country.

Another temptation presents itself to the party which wins control of city, state or nation by a narrow margin. That is the temptation to

visit reprisals on the opposition by misuse of the power to fire and hire and the power to investigate. It has been noted, for example, that while one-party states can maintain a fairly stable career service without a formal merit system, two-party states without such a system tend to observe the old rule, "to the victor belong the spoils."

We desperately need to develop a sense of political ethics and responsibility on the part of party leadership, candidates and elected officials that will reject methods that are destructive of the democratic system they exist to serve. Even more important, we must develop, by every method of civic and political education, a citizenry increasingly immune to spurious and narrowly selfish appeals. There will always be irresponsible minorities but it is not worth while for politicians to cater to them at the risk of alienating the solid core of their supporters.

There is mounting evidence that, while most Americans profess a basic attachment to one or the other of the major parties, more and more of them feel free to jump party lines whenever a valid reason is presented. When enough thoughtful voters are as ready to punish irresponsible action by their own party as some minorities are to respond to demagoguery, it is more worth while to cater to reason and to public interest than to passion, prejudice and greed.

A mere readiness to jump the party traces is not enough, however. More good citizens must get into the political act. They must vote in the party primaries which, by comparison with our general elections, are disgracefully neglected. They must also be ready to work in the party vineyards and to run for and accept party offices and the responsibilities for political leadership that go with them.

The NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW has always stressed the obligation to take part in party politics as well as in the nonpartisan citizen activity by which so much good has been wrought during the last 50 years in the modernization of city charters and the reform of local politics. At Kansas City, as at previous National Conferences on Government, there were sessions specifically devoted to political education and political participation by young people in schools and colleges, by women, by labor and management, by business and professional men—by all elements in our society.

As we move closer to a nationwide two-party system, we come closer to the democratic ideal of government by the expressed choice of all the people. Whether that will also mean responsible government for the good of the state or the nation as a whole will depend increasingly on our capacity for self-discipline, on our respect for one another and for the rules of fair play, and on the genuineness of our patriotism.

A Plea for High Standards

Gallup, calling our system complicated and top-heavy, hopes for solutions from current United States study.

By GEORGE H. GALLUP*

ONE development that points toward growing political maturity in our country is the progress that has been made in disentangling strictly local issues and elections from state and national politics. About 60 per cent of the elections in municipalities over 5,000 are now on nonpartisan ballots. I realize that some people believe this trend will endanger the vitality of the two-party system. But their alarm is completely misdirected.

One reason why many of our most thoughtful citizens have found it distasteful to engage in party politics has been that they could not abide the entrenched local party machine nourished largely by patronage. We still have too many such machines but many of them have passed out of existence or have been seriously weakened.

In many cities like Cincinnati there never was a real two-party system at the local level until a charter had been adopted which encouraged voters to line up on local issues regardless of their national party attachments. Often when that condition has developed the local organizations of the national parties attract more citizens who are interested in principles and issues, with the result that the influence of the grass roots organizations of the state and national parties is more wholesome and constructive. That development has, I understand, been going on right here in Kansas City during the last few years. Now that the old machine no longer feeds at city hall, people like your mayor, who cooperate without regard to party in city affairs, find it possible to play much more effective roles in the local organizations of the national parties.

It was pointed out in an editorial in the October number of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW[1] that because of our complicated system of government "citizenship is a more exacting calling in the United States than it is in most other free countries." The facts behind this observation explain much of the non-voting and ill-advised and ineffective voting that occurs. No other country in the world has so many elections. In no other country are citizens asked to vote at the same time for so many offices at so many levels of government—national, state, county, municipal, school district and sometimes others. And in no other country are voters asked to say "yes" or "no" on so many issues, whether important or trivial, as are commonly presented by initiative or referendum action in many of our states.

*Dr. Gallup, president of the National Municipal League, is founder and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion. He is author of numerous books and articles on public opinion and citizenship. The article above was prepared for delivery by Dr. Gallup at the League's National Conference on Government, November 10, 1954.

[1]See "The Complete Citizen," page 447.

The people of California passed on twenty amendments to their state constitution as well as candidates for United States Senate, Congress, governor, state legislature and other offices, while the people of Louisiana were asked to vote on 31 proposals, one-third of which, according to the Louisiana Public Affairs Research Council, involved strictly local issues rather than statewide basic policy.

The conscientious voter may well conclude that if he has no basis for a valid opinion it is better not to kid himself and the public by decorating his ballot with every X he is allowed to make.

Short Ballot Aid to Voter

Thanks to the short ballot movement, inaugurated by Woodrow Wilson and our own Richard S. Childs almost a half century ago and carried on through the National Municipal League's *Model State Constitution, Model City Charter* and other publications, ballots in many parts of the country are less formidable than they used to be. We have a long way to go, however, before we can reasonably expect voters to deliver confident and well considered votes on all the candidates and public questions presented to them.

Even when we have achieved that goal we will still have one of the most complicated systems of government in the world and we will still be making heavier demands year in and year out on our voters than in any other country in the free world. This inescapable fact calls upon us to maintain the highest standards of responsibility in our political leadership and the highest level of civic and political understanding among our citizens.

These facts underline the importance of the work now being done by the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations under the chairmanship of Meyer Kestnbaum, and by similar commissions in nearly half our states. A basic reason for the establishment of this commission over a year ago by the President and the Congress was the conviction that our system of government was growing excessively complicated, top-heavy and unwieldy as a result of increasing concentration of functions and responsibility in Washington.

During the 1952 presidential campaign both General Eisenhower and Governor Stevenson spoke of the importance of strengthening our state and local institutions so that a larger share of the job of government could be handled and directed close to home. Charles Edison, chairman of the League's Council, spoke on this theme at the San Antonio conference in 1952. In that speech, and in his speech at last year's conference in Richmond,[2] he asked for the strengthening and modernizing of state governments so that they might continue to play the part in the federal system envisaged by the founders of the republic.

It has been my privilege in recent months to serve as a member of a committee set up by the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to advise it on national-local relations. I have been impressed by the progress that has been made on this complicated problem. We have rea-

[2]See the REVIEW, December 1952, page 540, and December 1953, page 555.

son to hope that when the commission reports next March it will set before us one of the most important programs for the improvement of the working of our system of government that the American people have ever had to consider.

It is evident that we have to have more government today than we required 150 years ago or even 50 years ago. It is also evident that the power of the federal government to tax and to spend gives it a paramount position not anticipated by the founders. Some use of the so-called grant-in-aid system, by which the national taxing power finances some government functions that may best be carried out by state and local governments, is probably inevitable in view of the national, not to say international, character of much business and other enterprise today.

The questions are: How far should this system be permitted to go? And how can we curb the tendency of money from Washington to mean control from Washington?

The facts of modern life make it impossible to hope for an easy solution of the problem of maintaining a national government able to lead the free world and local institutions capable of preserving the essentials of freedom, democracy and responsible citizenship at home.

As Governor Edison pointed out at the Richmond conference last year, our state and local governments have an obligation to be strong. The weaker they are, the more dominant will be the role of the national government.

In the last analysis, the position of the states will depend largely on their own readiness to meet the need for government. A grant from Washington does not automatically convey the capacity to spend it wisely and effectively. The more fully the states meet the demands of their citizens, the less will be the tendency to bypass them or simply to use them as local bureaus of a centralized system of government.

Remedial Action

Consequently, I do not see how the commission's report can fail to point to the need for remedial action not only by Congress and the national government but by the states and the localities as well.

If I am right about this, the report of the commission will lay a special obligation on the National Municipal League to provide information and guidance to citizens and officials who want to do something about it. I am sure the League will meet this challenge because ever since the war we have been consciously preparing for just this eventuality. We have been preparing by strengthening our organization and staff and by shaping our program along lines indicated in a series of speeches by Charles Edison at previous conferences and by recommendations in the recent survey and evaluation of the League by Professor Joseph E. McLean and by the League's survey committee under the chairmanship of Cecil Morgan. This explains why the program of this conference included an unusual number of sessions on strengthening state government and straightening out intergovernmental relations and responsibilities.

Of course the League must not and will not be alone in this effort. The United States Chamber of Commerce and many state chambers of commerce have been paying close attention to the work of the national and state commissions on intergovernmental relations and so have many other national and state organizations embracing citizens of diverse points of view.

Difficult Task Ahead

In some ways the task ahead of us is more difficult than the original task of laying down the broad outlines of our distinctive system of national, state and local government. The tasks and burdens of government are more numerous and more complex today than they were 175 years ago. Our whole economic and social structure is more complex and each part is more dependent not only on the whole but also on the world outside. Simple solutions that may have seemed fairly adequate in a simpler age just don't meet the needs of today. Yet we must keep our system of government as simple as we can. We must maintain clear lines of responsibility and open channels of communication and understanding between the citizen and each part and major function of his government. If we do not do this the citizen is bound to be overwhelmed by the extent of his responsibilities and the difficulty of discerning them clearly.

Consequently, it is imperative that there be a well planned, coordinated effort to follow through the constructive proposals that we anticipate will come from the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. It is to be hoped that the commission itself will consider this problem and offer some guidance on the difficult task of moving from study and proposal to action. The membership of the commission, which includes persons of substantial experience in federal, state and local government, and in political and civic leadership, is well qualified for this role.

We recognize that it is necessary and proper for members of local charter commissions and state constitutional conventions to assume some leadership in carrying out their proposals. It is to be expected that the members of this commission will be prepared to follow through in like manner on the work they have started. In the long run, however, their efforts will mean little unless citizens, organized and unorganized, join in some such concert as has always been required to secure adoption of far-reaching proposals for the public good.

The great danger is that any fairly comprehensive plan for governmental improvement will be defeated for lack of organization of the general interest to counteract the inevitable attacks of special interests opposed to particular features. No comprehensive program is ever perfect or satisfactory to all groups. The very complexity of the problem attacked by the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, together with the fact that its proposals must be addressed not only to the national Congress but also to the people and governments of the 48 states, makes the need for carefully planned affirmative action all the greater.

The high batting average of the first Hoover Commission in terms of the adoption of its proposals for reorganization of the federal administration can be attributed in large measure to the nation-wide campaign conducted by the National Citizens' Committee for the Hoover Report. The committee helped organizations and individuals all over the country to concentrate their attention on the major objectives of reorganization. In so doing, it mustered impressive support that would not have developed without careful planning. In this effort the committee had access to the great national media of information and communication.

Stress State, Local Needs

One reason why the task of carrying out recommendations of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations will be more difficult is the greater difficulty of communication at the state and even at the local level. It may sound strange that it is often harder to get attention and informed action in the home state than on the national scene. The chief reason for this is that our newspapers, the air waves and other channels of communication are more and more crowded with national and international news and comment of interest to large audiences not confined by local or state boundaries.

Consequently, if we are to maintain state and local institutions in their full vigor, we must compensate for the tendency of national issues to overshadow state issues and monopolize the attention of voters and organized groups. This communication problem, therefore, is another compelling reason for not leaving the fate of the commission's recommendations to chance. It also indicates that a plan for concerted action must be both more complex and more flexible than that required to obtain support for the Hoover report. I am not prepared to suggest a blueprint. I am simply stressing the fact that this problem requires the same kind of study and consideration that is going into the work of the commission itself.

While we often seem to fall down on minor or relatively easy projects, our people have a record of rising to the most difficult tasks. It may well be that the very difficulty of this assignment with destiny will do more than one might imagine to counteract alarming tendencies toward confusion, division and political irresponsibility. Like other difficult tasks that we have mastered together, it may help us to forge a new unity in diversity by giving our voters a new understanding of their government and a renewed confidence in their own power to control it.

New Tasks for Citizens

More citizen committees, building of executive reserve pool on state and local levels suggested by businessman.

By THOMAS R. REID*

BACK in 1952, a few days after a great national election, I made the rather pessimistic comment that, after a glorious political binge and the inevitable hangover, Americans would probably swear off the stuff for another four years.[1] Well, we have just been through an off-year election which was closely fought right up to the time the polls were closed. It was really a pretty heartening and inspiring thing, whatever our personal political leanings may be.

One of the great lessons which that election should teach all Americans is the vital importance of one man's vote. I recall hearing that the mayor of one town in which several thousand people voted won by a single vote. Issues of national significance which will affect us all for years to come were determined by a few hundred or a few thousand votes. We have a House and Senate full of "Hair-breadth Harrys" and there will be more scared running in 1956 than this country has ever seen. It all adds up to a tremendous potential boost to active citizenship. All of us who are interested in promoting that kind of citizenship have a really potent argument today.

Certainly the setting is auspicious. Among our hosts are many who took part in one of the really outstanding civic jobs of all time. The story of the courageous and finally triumphant fight waged by a handful of Kansas City citizens against a powerful, entrenched and corrupt political machine has been an inspiration to all who care about good government. What happened in Kansas City set an example and a pattern for the later clean-up of many other great American cities. The militant spirit of responsible citizenship clings to this city and creates an atmosphere of purpose and civic decency.

My subject is "New Tasks for Citizens." Instead of trying to sell private citizens on the fact that they have a job to do, I'm going to try to sell those who are in government the idea of making it their business to find jobs for them to do. Most of us know why citizens should exercise their civic responsibility. Many of us are convinced that Mr. Citizen is willing and eager to do his part. So I think a logical and important concern of the National Municipal League is the problem of how to translate some of that willing spirit into effective practical action.

*Mr. Reid, director of civic affairs for Ford Motor Company at Dearborn, Michigan, concurrently is a consultant to the director of the Office of Defense Mobilization in Washington, D.C., where he served in 1953 as assistant director of mobilization in charge of man power. He is also chairman of a Hoover Commission task force on special personnel problems in the Department of Defense. A member of the Council of the National Municipal League and a former member of the Baltimore city council, Mr. Reid also holds numerous local civic positions.

[1]See Mr. Reid's address before the 1952 National Conference on Government, "Businessmen and Government," the REVIEW, December 1952, page 546.

During the past decade or so we have seen the rampant growth in the business world of what has been variously described as an awakening of corporate responsibility or industrial citizenship. There seems to be some feeling that the businessman suddenly just got religion on this business of civic responsibility. Most of us would agree that what the businessman got was a dose of good common sense.

Business Citizenship

In the first blush of the new-found civic spirit, however, there was a great deal of flag-waving and inspirational exhortation. I don't mean to sell inspiration short. Anyone who has seen a blimp being inflated knows that it takes an awful lot of gas to get off the ground.

But underneath all the fanfare, somewhere along the line the businessman learned that good business citizenship was not just a matter of pious platitudes—not just gilding the commercial lily—but a matter of really serious importance to him as a businessman as well as a private citizen. Perhaps it was just that he grasped the fact that the great issue in modern American political life is the struggle between freedom and security, between democracy and statism.

In the span of a few brief decades we have seen bigness become characteristic of most of our institutions. We have big government, big labor, big business, big agriculture. While not an evil in itself, bigness has magnified the complexity of the relationship among these deep-rooted forces in our lives.

Big forces and big problems generate big pressures toward ever more centralized guidance of our lives. The continuing popular desire for social progress, for improvement in our living standards, is one such pressure. If it is not satisfied by private efforts it will seek satisfaction through other courses.

World conditions exert a heavy influence upon our freedom of choice. We have assumed vast burdens in support of the free world's defensive strength, which inevitably extend the influence of government through the whole fabric of our lives.

Living in this powder-keg world, we are acutely aware that the maintenance of American economic stability is a matter of life and death. We know that to a large extent wise governmental action is essential to that stability.

Fear of communist subversion has led at times to extremes which could endanger our personal freedom and our democratic institutions.

Again and again we find ourselves facing up to the same question: At just what point in our search for security and stability do we reach a decisive surrender of private control over private matters?

Maintaining freedom in the face of all these intense pressures obviously puts a high premium on private citizenship responsibility. It's up to private citizens to do as much as possible of the jobs that need to be done. If many of the things which must be done are not accomplished by private means, the supposition is that sooner or later they will be done by government.

Conversely, it seems clear that the

quality of our citizenship, even more than our economic or military strength, will determine our survival value—our fitness to meet the challenges of our time.

The strengthening of our citizenship, our national moral and political fibre, can't start at the top and percolate down. It's got to be built up slowly and steadily from ground level in our local communities.

Those of us who are accustomed to thinking of active private citizenship mainly from a viewpoint of utility—of getting things done cheaply and efficiently and privately—need to give a little more thought to its great importance in strengthening democracy. In effect, our local communities can and should serve as schools of democracy and self-government. We need a greater awareness of what might be called the "bonus benefits" of greater citizen participation in local, civic, economic and humanitarian activities.

Detroit's Record

Just for example, you are all familiar with the United Foundation idea which had its genesis in Detroit and has since spread to many other cities. We are exceedingly proud of the record of Detroit industry and labor and other organizations in making the foundation the success that it has been. But we tend to take for granted an extraordinary side effect of this program.

One man who perhaps more than any other was reponsible for launching the United Foundation, Henry Ford II, put it this way:

> We live in a day of immense national and world problems which can only be solved, in the long run, by mutual friendship and cooperation and understanding among human beings of diverse races, creeds, nationalities and political beliefs. That kind of cooperation . . . must evolve naturally; it must come up from the grass roots. People must first learn to get along together at the local community level.
>
> Here in Detroit, each year hundreds of thousands of Detroiters reach across the lines of race and creed and nationality to help each other. Tens of thousands of volunteers work together with a common goal and purpose. This must mean, in my opinion, a real growth in tolerance and understanding among our Detroit people based on practical cooperation. Someone has made the point, for example, that labor-management relations in our town have benefited very directly as a result of management and labor leaders working shoulder to shoulder year after year for the United Foundation.
>
> All in all, then, it seems to me that the United Foundation has brought a wide range of benefits above and beyond the direct purposes which it was intended to serve.

What Mr. Ford has to say about the foundation applies in large measure to all citizen participation in all sorts of civic affairs. It tends to bring about an elevation of the whole moral tone of our political life. And ultimately, it seems to me that the way of self-disciplined, responsible citizenship is the only good road to survival in a world that balances precariously over the pit.

A moment ago I made the statement that there is a considerable desire on the part of Americans,

whether in industry or labor or the professions, to be active, constructive citizens. The great problem is how to translate that willing spirit into effective practical civic action and how to bring it out where it is still largely dormant.

Citizen Task-forces

I suppose that an outstanding contribution of federal government to active citizenship has been the development of the citizen task-force idea. In recent years we have, of course, had dozens of citizen advisory groups on a vast variety of subjects and problems. The foremost value of these task forces has been the bringing together of leaders of diverse national groups, promoting not uniformity but a sense of unity and broad common purposes and interests. The general effect has been to broaden the viewpoints of all concerned, to temper special interests and point the way to greater national solidarity.

During my own service as assistant and presently consultant on man power to the Director of Defense Mobilization, I have been particularly concerned with the problem of bringing competent business and professional people into broader participation in government affairs. After considerable study of the problem, we have come up with several notions which I think are relevant to our subject.

In general, the recruitment of private leaders for national citizen commissions and the like has not posed serious problems. The prestige attached to such appointments, and the opportunity for important public service without pulling up stakes at home, provide sufficient incentive to assure acceptance in most cases.

When it comes to persuading competent people to take actual working posts, even on a short-term basis, we run into all sorts of difficulties. In the Office of Defense Mobilization we recently worked up a plan to build an executive reserve of non-government personnel for positions in government during periods of emergency. The general idea was to set up a trained executive nucleus ready to step into key government spots if the need should ever arise. Actually the need has arisen five times in the last twenty years, and we never had an orderly system to meet it. The executive reserve plan has just recently been put into effect and a pilot group is being recruited.

We were looking to the future and therefore wanted to bring in relatively young men, from about 35 to 55 years of age, most of whom would be in the middle ranks of management and the professions—the leaders of tomorrow. In order to attract that kind of man, we had to do several things. We wanted to assure the man and his employer that selection for the executive reserve would reflect some real prestige upon both. A man's career should be materially advanced and not hindered by taking on the job. We had to try to make the indoctrination period long enough to be really effective and short enough to avoid any serious personal or job disruption.

To assure maximum prestige, the program contemplates a high-level approach to the organization employing the executive, and the development of good and thorough press cov-

erage of the problem and of specific appointments.

In a related sense, the problem of recruiting outstanding men for such reserve positions is affected by the general conditions of government service. In October I participated in the Sixth American Assembly on the Federal Government Service — Its Character, Prestige and Problems. Among the recommendations of that advisory group was one which called for a program to bring younger men in industry, labor, education and the professions into federal departments for relatively short assignments. It was even suggested that the exchange principle be established, giving middle-level government employees a chance at similar assignments in private enterprise. That's an idea which I think should be given some real thought; it might also have some application at the state and local government level.

Tap Local Talent

Thus far I have discussed practices of the national government which I think apply directly to our problem of encouraging more active citizenship at the state and municipal levels. As I see it, the problem in most communities is one of tapping more effectively a vast local reservoir of talents and know-how and enthusiasm—putting them to work for the whole community.

There is no doubt that a whole lot can be done to improve our performance in this area. As you go from place to place, you find a tremendous variation in the extent and effectiveness of citizen participation in civic affairs. Where it is strong, you almost always find a bustling, live-wire community, with vigorous civic pride, where things are being done to make life more pleasant, progressive and prosperous. Where it is weak, you often find general political apathy and costly, inefficient government.

It seems to me that the mobilization of effective citizenship is largely a problem of effective organization.

In communities where civic participation is ineffectively organized you generally find one or more of the following conditions: Civic action largely concentrated among a small group of top business leaders who lend their names as window-dressing for worthy causes and whose efforts are confined largely to fund-raising. You find little or no civic incentive for the second or third levels of management. If there is any work to be done, the boss may breezily pass the buck to some anonymous subordinate, who does the job grudgingly because he has to do it.

Resounding protestations of responsible citizenship are launched into an atmosphere of general public cynicism or indifference. As Herbert Hoover once said: "Words without deeds are death to ideals." And I can think of no greater civic sin than the assassination of public idealism through ineptness or indifference.

Aroused citizens can accomplish great things by private efforts where the stimulus is sufficiently great and that usually means where local conditions have become intolerable. But effective citizenship must be encouraged and developed under the intelligent guidance of local government.

I have two proposals to offer which I think would go a long way

toward improving the record of civic participation in any community.

First, the development and more effective use of the citizens' committee or commission at the local level, patterned on the national commissions with which we are all familiar. Those of us who live in cities or states where citizens' commissions are widely employed know how tremendously effective they can be.

We in Detroit have been drawn extensively into this type of civic action under programs inspired by Mayor Albert E. Cobo. This year, for example, the city set up a group known as the Detroit-Tomorrow Committee, which brings together more than a hundred outstanding leaders of every conceivable group interested in the future of the city. Subcommittees have been set up to consider a broad group of the city's development problems, ranging from traffic and highways to slum clearance and waterfront development. From past experience, we know that all the members of those committees have a considerable job outlined for them, and we are sure that real and measurable accomplishments will result from their work.

Because the commission idea has not yet caught on in a great many communities, I would like to mention briefly what seem to be some necessary attributes of such commissions.

As a rule, they should be established by the governor, the mayor or other local officials. They should be composed of top-level leaders of the community, business and the professions. Their primary job is one of policy guidance, of study and analysis of the local problems and needs with particular emphasis on seeking out and bringing private resources to bear upon them.

In an important sense, then, the commission acts as a two-way channel of communication between local government and private resources and as a central point for the mobilization and coordination of private efforts. The citizens' commission can often be a really effective means for enlisting the top-level support of local industry and the professions—lawyers, educators, engineers, architects, accountants, doctors and so on—for civic enterprises.

Establish Reserve System

Once we have established our citizens' commission, we've broken the ice and made a real stride toward effective civic action. We need to take a further step in order to develop a really effective program—one which has not to my knowledge been adequately explored. Thus far we've pretty much limited civic responsibilities and action to what might be described as the senior executive group. We've got to do a better job of bringing the younger operational people into action.

Second, therefore, I propose establishment of the executive reserve system and the specialist task force idea at state and municipal levels. Briefly, the idea would be to set up a reserve of operational people at the secondary levels of management, skilled specialists in a variety of fields, who would be given active consulting jobs to do, without compensation, in problems of their local governments. Ideally, we would anticipate needs and explore the resources of our

community so thoroughly that, whenever we have a special task to do, we know right where to put our finger on the fellow for the job.

In order to make this system work, the enthusiastic support of senior management must be enlisted. Care must be taken to spread the load so as to avoid unreasonable burdening of any one firm or individual. Every effort should be made to endow the executive reserve with prestige. Appropriate public recognition should be given to members of the reserve and their work, so that they and their employers will find their prestige materially enhanced.

Once set up, the executive reserve would be a tremendously valuable asset to the community and local government, since it would provide capable professional advice and assistance over the whole range of civic activities and government administration.

In my opinion, this double-barreled combination of the senior citizen commission and the operational executive reserve would be just about unbeatable as a means of getting really effective civic action.

Once such an effort is launched, I believe it would rapidly pick up real momentum and draw inactive groups of the community into the fray. I know that in the space of five or six years we have brought about a situation in Detroit where we have really hot competition for posts on our various commissions. If we are not asked to take part in one job or another, we begin to wonder what's wrong with us. And I can assure you that the kind of civic spirit we now have is sincere and thorough-going.

Enthusiasm Will Grow

Once you get rolling, you seem to develop a circle that's just the opposite of vicious. You get into a snowballing of civic enthusiasm. As more and more young people are drawn into the civic orbit, there is a rapid growth of informed and intelligent citizenship. Other young fellows coming along decide that maybe they better get into the swim too.

I don't believe we're headed for Utopia, and I don't know where it will all end. But I am convinced of this: By building effective citizenship at home in our communities, we can make perhaps our most effective contribution possible to our national moral and political fibre, to the strengthening of democratic institutions, and ultimately to the cause of world peace and progress.

American industry and private citizens have come a long way in developing a strong sense of civic responsibility. Today, a great many of our private leaders are ready to do a real job of public service. It's up to those of us who are in or associated directly with local government to help them translate that urge into effective action.

With cooperation and understanding between government and citizens, all things are possible.

Faith Is Base of Freedom

Cincinnati's vice mayor asks greater concern by pulpit for support of honest, efficient government.

By DOROTHY N. DOLBEY*

OUT of great need this land produced some of the world's finest leaders. And the world is in desperate need of leadership today. Not just a handful of top elected leaders but millions of men and women who remember their heritage—those who lived and died to make us free; who are mindful of the future, determined to hand down to coming generations a land of freedom and hope.

Today we need a leadership conscious of its spiritual power and determined that it will not lose the historical significance of its founding. Too many of us have forgotten that we are a country founded on religious faith. This thought was expressed by President Eisenhower recently at a meeting with leaders of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America: "The people of America must realize their spiritual power — it is the only power which can save the world. This nation's government must be based on a firm foundation of religious faith or it makes no sense."

Only periodically does the church awaken to its responsibility and sound the clarion call for decent, honest and efficient government in local communities. Committees for good government in Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia and other cities have been composed of consecrated churchmen determined to bring an end to the disgraceful governments of their various cities.

It happened in Cincinnati almost three decades ago. Those early reformers included men and women of all faiths dedicated to the task of making Cincinnati the best governed city in the United States instead of the worst. I am told that we are unique, that, somehow or other, we have been able through the years to keep the spirit of that first reform group operating and effective in our local government. How have we done it? I would suggest that perhaps one answer is that we have been able to challenge men and women of high principles, of deep religious faith, to the ideal that in a democracy politics is everybody's business; to the ideal that city or national government must meet the needs of the individual citizens in such a way that the best interests of all are served.

I firmly believe that America's pulpits must inspire its citizens with the ideal that running a government of, by and for the people is a basic religious tenet of our faith. Today we need a leadership who will proudly proclaim its religious heritage. We need citizens for good gov-

*Mrs. Dolbey, city councilwoman in Cincinnati since 1953, was acting mayor of the city from March of this year until a successor to Mayor Waldvogel (deceased) was chosen last month. She is a member of the Cincinnati Planning Commission, chairman of the city's Retirement Pension Board and chairman of the Hamilton County Civil Defense Committee. This article is made up of excerpts from her address on November 9 before the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government.

ernment recruited from Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish churches, who will place the best interests of all above those of a few.

Secondly, we need a leadership today that is informed. It is imperative that we educate the average citizen to know the actual conditions of his community. Over and over again we find slum clearance, urban redevelopment, modern expressway programs voted down, either by citizens who were not acquainted with the true facts or by those who selfishly thought that that particular improvement would not affect them. Each of us must realize that the belief "no man is an island, no man lives alone" is as true for us in our local communities as it is in our country in a world of nations.

Education for Citizenship

We need to educate the average citizen in the individual role which he must play if "right" is to prevail. We need to challenge women to take their rightful place in their political government. Any citizen voluntary group for good government which does not include an active women's division is licked before it has started. In Cincinnati the backbone of the City Charter Committee ward and precinct organization is its Women's Division. The committee knows that with 8,000 more women voters in the area than men it must challenge each woman citizen to her individual responsibility for good government, efficient government.

How do we in Cincinnati get information to the average voter? First, we start with the realization of the miracle of mass communication. We are determined to use this powerful weapon for good. We know full well that it can be used for evil. The repetition over and over again of material without a true basis of fact can give the voter the wrong impression.

In the fight to take away the use of proportional representation for the election of the Cincinnati city council in this last election,[1] the opposing faction took for the name of its group "Charter Improvement League." This was deliberate for, to many a voter who listened to the advertising on the air, this appeared to be the City Charter Committee, a strong supporter of P.R., endorsing the amendment. Fluoridation in Cincinnati was defeated by one man on one radio station. We live in an age of digests. Too many of us don't take the time to read the original speech or story or basic research material. We let someone else do our reading for us and give his interpretation of the original.

Secondly, we get information to the average voter by presenting the facts in a door-to-door, block-by-block organization. Politically, this country is organized on a ward and precinct basis. Any good government group must do a similar job if it wishes to be successful. And how do you get enough recruits to do the necessary block work?

Today we are going through the second great industrial revolution. We have more leisure than any generation which has preceded us. The director of the National Recreation Association brought out this fact when he spoke to a group of Cincin-

[1]See page 595, this issue.

natians recently. The garment workers in New York will obtain a 35-hour week in 1955. He stated that it would not be too many years before the 30-hour week would be established. What are we going to do with our leisure time? The challenge is there.

We give a lot of lip service to fighting communism. Our most effective tool is to fight for good government on the local level.

Thirdly, we get recruits by the example of our top leadership. Two of the best volunteers that we have in the City Charter Committee in Cincinnati are Forest Frank, our executive secretary, and Mrs. Louise Hobart, secretary for the Women's Division. They and two others constitute our paid staff. Yet they do not work on an hourly basis. They give their time, their energy and their devotion in every waking moment. The rest of our organization is composed of volunteers—men and women who think it is their responsibility and who believe it to be worthwhile to spend their leisure in this fashion.

We do not have any patronage political organization. It is a historical fact that mercenary troops never do as well as volunteers. The Battle of Trenton was lost for the British because the paid Hessian troops were sleeping when Washington's forces surrounded them. I am not implying that a good government group can win all its battles. There will be victories and losses. I am saying that ultimately the war can be won.

If you doubt the ability and interest of such a volunteer group, I can point to the last P.R. fight in Cincinnati in November. There was a million-dollar insurance man filing cards and raising money; there were top lawyers and businessmen debating, doing block work, witnessing the count on election day. There were hundreds of women ringing doorbells, handing out literature, working at the polls. You cannot buy that kind of devotion and I believe that thousands of American citizens will do a similar job if they are informed of the facts—if they realize what is at stake.

Bravery Called For

Finally, we need a leadership with courage to act. If ever we needed people who are willing to stand up and be counted, we need them today. Our ancestors fought and died that we might inherit a free land. There are too many today who fear to speak out and, as a result, we have the attention of our whole country focused on what one man in Congress has or has not done. Senator McCarthy is not solely responsible for our state of jitters. McCarthyism is a state of being and it never could have become a household word if the average citizen had been determined to look at the problem in its entirety and not be stampeded through fear.

McCarthyism was possible only because as individuals you and I became insecure and fear-ridden.

In the 1953 Cincinnati council-manic election, the City Charter Committee was damned with the words "pink" and "communistic" and what did we do? We carried our story over the radio, through the press and neighborhood meetings. We

(Continued on page 612)

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

November Elections Swell Manager List

Eleven Cities Vote to Adopt New Government

THE council-manager plan was the subject of numerous referenda in November. Of the cities voting on the plan eleven have adopted it. Five others have also recently secured the plan.

JOLIET, ILLINOIS, (1950 population 51,601) voted 11,390 to 9,251 on November 2 to replace its commission government by the council-manager plan.

EAST PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND, (35,871) voted 9,294 to 7,837 on November 2 in favor of a council-manager charter, superseding town meeting government. If its provisions for choosing the five-member council at nonpartisan off-year elections are not ratified by the state legislature, the council will be chosen at regular partisan elections according to state law. NORTH KINGSTOWN, RHODE ISLAND, (14,810) voted 1,468 to 974 on November 2 for a council-manager charter, although it was opposed by a majority of the Republican town committee and although the Republicans were returned to office.

In SANTA FE (27,998), capital of NEW MEXICO, the council-manager plan was adopted by ordinance on October 27. The plan had been recommended by a committee, appointed by the mayor, comprising representatives of the Citizens Union, the League of Women Voters and other civic organizations.

MEDFORD, OREGON, (17,305) adopted the manager plan by charter amendment by a vote of 6,086 to 1,812 on November 2. It becomes effective January 1, 1955.

On November 9 KENNEWICK, WASHINGTON, (10,106) adopted the state's optional manager law by a vote of 877 to 213. The plan will go into effect June 6, 1955.

RANDOLPH, MASSACHUSETTS, (9,982) adopted the town manager plan, under the optional state law, by a vote of 2,457 to 1,857 on November 2. It takes effect after March 1955.

ALTUS (9,735) and CLAREMORE (5,494), OKLAHOMA, adopted the statutory council-manager plan on November 2. The vote in Altus was 1,393 to 584; that in Claremore, 1,037 to 740. The plan will go into effect in both cities in May 1955.

The township of CEDAR GROVE (8,022) in Essex County, NEW JERSEY, voted 1,433 to 1,376 on November 2 to replace the commission plan by the council-manager plan, effective July 1, 1955, as recommended by a charter commission. A council of five will be elected at large in May 1955.

BROWNFIELD, TEXAS, (6,161) voted 109 to 50 on November 16 to adopt the statutory council-manager plan. It went into effect December 9, 1954.

VACAVILLE, CALIFORNIA, (4,803) recently adopted the council-manager plan.

Voters of GULFPORT, FLORIDA, (3,702) adopted the council-manager plan 1,458 to 514 on November 9. The plan went into effect December 9.

The following four municipalities have adopted the council-manager plan since July 1: CAMP HILL, PENNSYLVANIA, (5,934); NORTH LAS VEGAS, NEVADA, (3,875); SEAL BEACH, CALIFORNIA, (3,553); and POLK CITY, FLORIDA, (195).

At a special town meeting in NEWCASTLE, MAINE, on September 27, a proposition for adoption of the town manager plan was postponed indefinitely.

MILFORD, CONNECTICUT, voted to retain its town manager government 2,274 to 2,002.

Two NEW JERSEY municipalities now

under the commission plan rejected the council-manager plan at the November 2 election. In WEST ORANGE the vote was 7,496 to 4,967; in BELLEVILLE it was 6,254 to 2,771. In both towns the incumbent commissioners fought the proposed change.

NORTH PLAINFIELD, NEW JERSEY, which has a mayor-council form of government, voted 2,459 to 2,288 on November 2 against changing to the council-manager plan. The charter commission had split three to two on the issue.

HAMPTON, VIRGINIA, which comprises a former county, city and town, which became boroughs under a consolidation plan, has voted for a city-wide council rather than one elected by boroughs.

Voters of NORTH WILKESBORO, NORTH CAROLINA, on November 2 defeated a proposal to adopt the state's optional Plan D, providing the council-manager plan.

MARION, OHIO, voted 9,018 to 2,814 on November 2 against adoption of the manager plan. KENT, OHIO, did likewise, 3,097 to 1,109.

JACKSON, OHIO, voted 1,409 to 857 against a proposal to elect a charter commission.

The charter study commission of ST. IGNACE, MICHIGAN, has indicated approval of the council-manager idea.

A joint committee of the PRINCETON, ILLINOIS, Chamber of Commerce and Junior Chamber of Commerce has undertaken a study to determine the most effective and economical form of municipal government for the city. The joint committee has been subdivided into four groups. A survey group has employed Griffenhagen & Associates tc make a survey of the present commission government and make recommendations. A reading group will compile data on the various forms of government. A traveling group will visit cities of similar size in northern Illinois to get first-hand knowledge of how well the several plans are working. A lec-

Whoever Hires Me

G. F. Alcott, a member of the All Bloomington (Illinois) Committee which backed the successful campaign for council-manager government in Bloomington three years ago, spoke Halloween evening at Joliet, Illinois, three nights before that city's election on the plan, over WJOL, the Joliet radio station.

Driving down town after the broadcast, he passed a large lot where several hundred children, dressed in Halloween costumes, were gathering for the annual parade.

At the curb was a pushcart bearing large signs reading, "Be a citizen, not a subject—Vote 'NO' on council-manager." Beside the cart stood a man dressed in clown costume and with painted face.

Mr. Alcott parked and approached the man, saying, "I'm surprised that you'd be against council-manager. It works fine down in my town at Bloomington."

The man looked puzzled for a moment and then replied, "Mister, I don't know nothin' about it. I am a professional clown. I works for whoever hires me."

On November 2 Joliet voters ADOPTED the council-manager plan.

ture group will arrange for public presentation and discussion of the committee's recommendations.

In MANKATO, MINNESOTA, an attempt to discard the manager plan failed on November 2. The vote was 3,688 for and 3,340 against a change, but a 60 per cent vote was necessary for that purpose.

The city council of AUDUBON, IOWA, has voted to employ a city supervisor to direct all departments of the city government.

SCOTTSBLUFF, NEBRASKA, voted 2,193 to 1,457 on November 2 to retain its council-manager plan.

As a result of a petition filed in WEISER, IDAHO, an election has been set for December 7 on the question of adopting the manager plan.

DUNCAN, OKLAHOMA, on November 2, adopted a new and up-to-date council-manager charter by a vote of 2,335 to 856. The city has had a manager plan charter since 1920.

ELK CITY, OKLAHOMA, defeated a proposed charter amendment to abolish the council-manager plan, 1,153 to 726.

TULSA, OKLAHOMA, voting on November 16, defeated a proposed new charter providing the council-manager plan, 24,846 to 15,488.

Sufficient signatures have been secured to petitions to call an election in LAWTON, OKLAHOMA, on adopting the statutory council-manager form of government. ENID, in the same state, is working on a proposed new council-manager charter to replace the manager charter under which it has been operating since 1947.

A referendum election as to adoption of the manager plan is scheduled for January 18 in SPARKS, NEVADA.

WALLA WALLA, WASHINGTON, defeated a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan on November 2.

Seven of the nine city managers in NEBRASKA met in Grand Island on September 16 and organized a Nebraska city managers' association.

Recent city manager meetings have been held in IOWA, at Iowa City, September 24-25, with eleven of the state's eighteen managers present; in OHIO, at Columbus, September 30-October 1, with eighteen of 28 managers; and in KANSAS, at Parsons, October 7-8, with 25 of 36 managers.

Voters Struggle with Many Propositions

Proposed constitutional amendments and items of direct legislation to the number of 232 confronted the voters of 37 states on November 2, along with the problem of choosing United States senators and congressmen, state legislators and administrative officers, and local officials, throughout the nation. As the dust of the conflict settled, some of the results as to constitutional amendments appeared to be as follows:

School Segregation

An issue that attracted wide attention beyond the two southern states where it was voted upon was the attempt to overcome the recent Supreme Court decision adverse to segregation of white and colored school children.

Louisiana overwhelmingly approved an

"Alfred wanted to vote for the forces of decency and good government against the forces of evil and corruption, but the printed ballot didn't say which was which."

—Reproduced by permission from COLLIER'S
Cartoon by Foster Humfreville

amendment (to Article XII) which requires separate public elementary and secondary schools for white and negro children "in the exercise of the state police power to promote and protect public health, morals, better education and the peace and good order in the state, and not because of race." The legislature is authorized to submit additional proposed amendments to Article XII at special elections (now possible only at general elections).

In Georgia the proposal was to permit the state to grant funds to individuals for educational purposes; thus it would be possible to abolish non-segregated public schools in favor of segregated private schools. This amendment carried by a rather small margin (about 29,000 out of 391,000 votes). Although heavily supported in rural areas, it was largely opposed in the cities.

Election Matters

Mississippi voters approved an amendment tending to restrict Negro voting. It requires that an applicant must be able to read and write and to write an interpretation of any section of the constitution required by the county registrar. Heretofore an applicant was qualified if he could read the constitution or understand it if read to him.

Michigan made voting easier for a person who has moved within the state 30 days or less before an election to vote in his prior district, if qualified there and if filing an affidavit with the election board of that district.

In California a proposal to remove the voting disqualification of persons convicted of "infamous crimes," after having paid the penalty for such, was defeated by a narrow margin.

Minnesota adopted an amendment to eliminate "short-term elections" by permitting the governor to fill vacancies in offices until the end of the term or until the first Monday in January following the next general election, whichever is sooner.

North Carolina approved a reduction from four months to 30 days in the length of residence of a voter prior to an election, in a precinct, ward or other election district.

The same state approved a provision that the governor can fill vacancies in executive and judicial elective offices, instead of requiring election, if the vacancy is only until January following the next general election.

Apportionment

In Illinois the "Blue Ballot amendment" prescribing legislative reapportionment for the state—last accomplished in 1901—carried overwhelmingly, especially in Chicago and the rest of Cook County, even though "downstate" control of the State Senate is increased by assigning only 24 permanent Senate districts to Cook County (eighteen in Chicago) out of a total of 58. The House of Representatives, however, is to be apportioned on a population basis, but Cook County is limited to 30 out of 59 districts; Chicago will have 23. If the legislature fails to reapportion a special commission is to do so.

Colorado defeated a proposal for legislative reapportionment with fixed districts specified for the Senate, while the House districting would be on a population basis.

North Carolina rejected a proposal for limitation of one senator to a county regardless of population.

Length of Terms

An amendment in Ohio to lengthen the terms of elective state officials from two to four years, and to limit governors after 1958 to two consecutive terms, appeared to have a large majority—while Governor Frank L. Lausche was winning his fifth two-year term. A proposal to double the two-year term of state legislators apparently lost.

In Colorado a proposed amendment to lengthen the term of elective state officers

to four years, with elections in non-presidential years, and permitting salaries to be increased or decreased during terms of office, was defeated, while one to lengthen the term of county officers to four years, with elections in non-presidential years, was adopted—the margin being close in both cases.

Texas voted by a substantial margin to lengthen the present two-year terms of elective district, county and precinct officials to four years.

In Illinois the state treasurer's term was extended from two to four years.

California heavily defeated a proposal to raise the term of assemblymen from two to four years and the term of senators from four to six years, and to limit future governors to two successive terms.

In Kansas proposals to remove the present limit of two successive terms as to county treasurers and sheriffs were defeated.

Annual Legislative Sessions

Kansas approved a proposal for annual sessions of the state legislature, beginning in 1956, the session in odd-numbered years to be limited to consideration of budget matters.

West Virginia adopted an amendment providing annual sessions, those in even-numbered years to be for 30 days and limited to budget matters, unless the governor proclaims otherwise at least ten days before the session, or unless the legislature by two-thirds vote on a concurrent resolution decides to consider additional business.

Georgia approved an amendment for annual 40-day sessions of the legislature.

Legislator's Pay

Texas raised the pay of state legislators from $10 to $25 per day, for 120 days, and now allows the legislature to set salaries of state elective officers.

In California a proposal to increase state legislative salaries from $300 to $500 a month was approved by a narrow margin.

West Virginia approved an increase from $500 to $1,500 per annum for legislators, with an additional $10 per day for extended or extraordinary sessions.

Home Rule

In Kansas an amendment looking toward home rule in urban areas was adopted. The constitution has required that general state laws shall have uniform application and that special laws shall not be enacted where a general law can be made applicable (Article 2, Section 17). The amendment adds, "Provided, the legislature may designate areas in counties that have become urban in character as 'urban areas' and enact special laws giving to such counties or urban areas such powers of local government and consolidation of local government as the legislature may deem proper." Although the amendment is permissive, the hope is held out that it will bring increasing home rule for the larger cities and will relieve the legislature of a heavy load of local legislation.

Georgia adopted an amendment authorizing the legislature to provide by general law for the self-government of municipalities and to delegate its powers to that end.

Maryland adopted an amendment conferring the general powers of home rule on towns and cities, including the power to amend their charters on matters relating to incorporation, organization, government and affairs, without action by the legislature. The powers to fix a maximum tax rate and to levy any type of tax is reserved to the legislature. Other restrictions forbid municipalities to repeal statewide laws or laws pertaining to their class, or to change existing laws concerning Sunday observance or alcoholic beverages. The amendment excludes Baltimore, which already has such powers. Legislative action will be necessary to provide a classification of mu-

nicipalities, procedures for amending charters, etc.

Local Charters

In California one proposed amendment, which was defeated, would have authorized the city of Vernon, in Los Angeles County, to submit a charter to local vote, despite lack of the general population minimum of 3,500. Such charter could permit non-resident property owners to vote. Vernon is an industrial community with a small and dwindling residential population.

Another California proposal, to extend the time given boards of freeholders to prepare county charters from 120 days to six months, was approved by a large margin.

Old Age Pensions

A proposed California amendment, submitted by popular initiative, to increase the maximum old age pension from $80 to $100 per month, was defeated by a substantial margin.

In Colorado a proposal to permit the legislature to eliminate an existing provision that a pensioner's income from other sources must be deducted from the amount of old-age pension was heavily defeated.

Public Utility Regulation

Colorado approved by a large majority an amendment authorizing the state Public Utilities Commission to regulate the facilities, service and rates of all privately owned public utilities. The power of municipalities to exercise reasonable police and licensing powers and to grant franchises is not affected.

Miscellaneous Amendments

Bonus payments to veterans of the Korean conflict were authorized in Michigan. An attempt to legalize bingo and other lotteries conducted by charitable organizations was defeated in that state.

Texas voters were in an affirmative mood, and approved eleven amendments, two of which have been noted above. For others see the October REVIEW, page 481.

A constitutional amendment establishing a Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control to administer liquor licensing laws, removing such administration from the State Board of Equalization, was passed in California.

In California eighteen amendments were voted on, twelve of which were approved. Seven have been referred to above. Several others are financial in character (see the October REVIEW, page 480).

In Nebraska the voters authorized the governor to appoint the five members of the Board of Educational Lands and Funds, now an *ex officio* body made up of state officers. Most of seven other proposed amendments deal with taxation and finance (see that department).

Georgia adopted an amendment declaring slum clearance to be a governmental function and authorizing the exercise of the powers of taxation and eminent domain for that purpose.

Minnesota approved an amendment that will help to clear the way for a constitutional convention. It provides that any revisions adopted by such a convention must be submitted to the voters for approval—a point that has not been clear. It also permits state legislators to serve as delegates to such conventions.

Minnesota also adopted an amendment authorizing the legislature to set qualifications for probate judges and to establish and extend the duties of probate courts; and another which eliminates double liability of stockholders in state banks and some other institutions. All the amendments received affirmative votes in excess of the necessary 50 per cent of all ballots cast and counted.

Other State Propositions

Montana became the twentieth state to adopt presidential primaries. A propo-

sition approved by a vote of 93,000 to 43,000 authorizes such a primary to be held in June 1956 and each four years thereafter.

New Jersey defeated a proposal to finance a state medical-dental college and health center. The move was supported by most medical and dental groups, the C.I.O. and the New Jersey Taxpayers' Association. It was fought by the Roman Catholic church, the Hudson County Democratic organization and some medical groups.

Wisconsin rejected a plan for a tax-supported non-commercial educational television network.

City Voters Decide Varied Questions

A wide variety of local matters was passed upon by the voters of many cities at the November 2 election. Many concerned bond issues, a subject dealt with elsewhere.[1]

Among charter matters, Hartford, Connecticut, defeated a proposal for salaries of $2,000 per annum to be paid to members of the city council, and one of $3,000 to the member who is also the mayor. In Hartford the city manager, appointed by the council, is in charge of administration. The vote was 6,033 in favor, 16,650 against.

In Yonkers, New York, a proposal for a city council of six members and a mayor, all elected at large for four-year terms, was defeated, 25,897 to 19,110, with 21,043 voters not acting on the proposal. Yonkers now has a council of twelve, elected from wards for two-year terms, with a mayor elected at large for two years as presiding officer. The council appoints a city manager.

In eleven communities voting on the question of fluoridation of city water in the hope of reducing tooth decay, seven rejected the idea. Palo Alto, California, and Mountain Home, Arkansas, approved it.

[1]See page 598, this issue.

In San Francisco, where cable-car lines on some of its hills had been reduced by half last January, the voters rejected a proposal to restore the eliminated portion.

Although Pennsylvania State College is now called a university, the town of State College voted 2,434 to 1,475 to retain its old name, rather than adopt the designation of Mount Nittany.

New Jersey Municipalities Vote for Charter Commissions

At least five municipalities in New Jersey voted on November 2 in favor of charter studies and elected charter commissions. The largest is the city of Passaic, where the proposal carried by 6,473 to 3,137 (unofficial). It stems from a movement started five years ago to replace the present commission plan by a strong-mayor form. The new charter commission is not limited to the latter plan, however. It must submit its recommendations by August 1955.

Bloomfield, which has a weak-mayor form, voted 8,137 to 5,020 for a charter study. In Newton, county seat of Sussex County, the vote was 1,392 to 192, and in nearby Pequannock it was 1,629 to 665. Livingston township, in Essex County, voted 4,124 to 615 for the study and elected to the commission the slate of the proponents. In Warren township a charter study was authorized 565 to 381.

Several municipalities voted on council-manager proposals, as noted elsewhere.

Irvington, in Essex County, voted 10,316 to 5,718 against a proposal to replace the commission form by a strong mayor and council. The latter plan was actively opposed by four of the five commissioners and by the Republican and Democratic county committees.

Charter commissions in New Jersey are not authorized to draft new charters but may select one of various options offered to cities and villages in the state under the so-called Faulkner Act.

Three Rhode Island Cities Keep Nonpartisan Elections

The voters of Pawtucket, Newport and Central Falls, Rhode Island, reaffirmed on November 2 their desire for nonpartisan elections. Pawtucket, in an advisory referendum, voted 16,541 to 7,888 against a proposal of the legislature that the city revert to partisan city elections to be held at the same time as the state and national elections. Central Falls did likewise, 3,902 to 1,726.

In Newport retention of nonpartisan elections was approved 4,605 to 2,604, and city elections in off years 4,587 to 2,554.

Dead Man Elected County Clerk

In Salem, New Jersey, W. P. Ballinger, a Republican, was reelected on November 2 to a five-year term as clerk of Salem County, although he died on the preceding Thursday. He was unopposed. Under state law Governor Meyner appoints a successor belonging to the same political party as the predecessor. Another clerk will be chosen at the next general election.

Why Is a Constable?

A proposal to abolish the office of constable in Detroit appears likely to be submitted to the voters of the city next spring. Perhaps then there will be an answer to the long-standing question: "Why is a constable?"

In 1941 the Michigan legislature created the office of bailiff in connection with the Common Pleas Court (formerly the Justice Court) of the city of Detroit. By that act all constables in Detroit (two per ward or 44) also became bailiffs. No work out of Common Pleas Court went to them thereafter as constables, and the judges of the court were given a greater measure of control over them as bailiffs than had previously been the case. The only work remaining for constables was out of Circuit Court Commissioners Court; it could be and was handled by ten or twelve.

The 1953 legislature established a bailiff system for Circuit Court Commissioners Court, whereby twelve bailiffs are appointed by the commissioners to handle process issued out of that court. No work goes to a constable, as such. A bailiff cannot be a member of both bailiff systems.

The way is now open for repeal of the charter provision requiring the election of constables.

CHESTER J. MORSE
Executive Secretary
Detroit Citizens League

Phoenix Department Head Chosen by Modern Methods

Modern scientific testing methods have again been used to select a department head in the city of Phoenix, Arizona. On October 1 an acting assistant fire chief was named fire chief as the result of a carefully prepared testing program.

Phoenix' first experience with the use of intensive examining techniques in selecting a department head was in August 1952, when a police lieutenant was promoted to police chief, a position which under the law is in the unclassified civil service and requires no examination.

While the fire chief position is under classified civil service, and has for years been subject to its rules, the examination which resulted in the selection went considerably beyond the civil service requirements.

The results of using these techniques indicate that procedures of the classified civil service can be valuable tools for top management in the selection of department heads.

RAY W. WILSON, *City Manager*
Phoenix, Arizona

Granville, Ohio, Merges Clerk and Treasurer Offices

The village council of Granville, Ohio, took action on September 1 to combine

the offices of clerk and treasurer as permitted by a state law sponsored by the Ohio Municipal League and adopted by the legislature last year. Granville is reported to be the first village to take advantage of the statute.

An earlier statute permits a township clerk to act as treasurer. The offices may also be combined by a municipality in adopting a charter.

International Municipal Groups Join in Membership Offer

Cities in the United States are being offered a combined membership in the International Union of Local Authorities and the Inter-American Municipal Organization, at a schedule of annual dues ranging from $50 for cities up to 100,000 population to $400 for cities with more than 1,000,000 population.

The IULA, whose headquarters are in The Hague, the Netherlands, unites national leagues of municipalities from 26 countries in all parts of the world. Its publications include an illustrated quarterly bulletin printed in three editions—English, French and German. The IMO has a membership open to all the countries of the Western Hemisphere and issues publications in English and Spanish. Both organizations hold congresses which are attended by municipal officials from all over the world. The IULA holds its twelfth congress in Rome in September 1955; the fifth Inter-American Congress of Municipalities is in San Juan, Puerto Rico, December 2-7, 1954.

Further information about the membership offer may be obtained from the American Committee for International Municipal Cooperation, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37. Among the seventeen member organizations of the Committee are the American Municipal Association, National Municipal League, International City Managers' Association and United States Conference of Mayors.

Rhode Island Primary System Shows Virtues and Defect

In Rhode Island's new primary election system, which had its fourth trial three months ago, the party managements submit candidates for confirmation by the party members at primaries, such "endorsees" being identified by asterisks on the ballots. Other candidates get on the party primary ballots by petition. The system is closer to the National Municipal League's *Model Direct Primary Election System* than that of any other state.

The Democratic and Republican primaries are, needlessly, held on different days, alternating in priority from year to year.

The 1954 endorsed statewide nominees were uncontested in both parties and contests appeared only in local partisan elections.

In the Democratic primaries, September 20, only one out of 29 memberships in the Assembly was won by an unendorsed candidate. In the Senate three incumbents who lacked the endorsement tried but failed reelection, and all nominations were won by endorsees, although there were some close and bitter contests.

In the municipal elections there were many contests for nominations for public and party office, victory going to endorsees with few exceptions.

The Republicans on September 29 accepted endorsed slates for public office in thirteen of the fifteen cities and towns where primaries were held. Six unendorsed candidates, three in East Providence and three in Westerly, won places on Republican town committees.

The *Providence Journal* of September 22 editorialized under the headline "The Odds Are Still Rigged for the Endorsed Candidates. . . . With a liberalized primary law there would be more unendorsed candidates running for office and there would be a higher rate of victory

for their campaigns." It complained: "Endorsed candidates on a primary ballot are listed vertically in the first left-hand column of the voting machines. By simply running a finger down the line of butterfly levers opposite each name, it is possible to cast a quick ballot for every endorsed candidate. Names of unendorsed candidates, however, must be strung out horizontally by alphabet for each office at stake. A voter must pick his way through a frequently confusing list of names if he wants to back an unendorsed candidate.

"By law, too, there is no provision for appointment of polling place supervisors representing the interests of unendorsed candidates. The state primary act specifies that the supervisors are to be appointed from lists furnished by the local party committee and unendorsed candidates get short shrift from party machines. Yet supervisors are key personnel at any voting place. They may enter the polling booth at the request of a voter to give him help in operating the machine or expressing his choice. The area of their influence is considerable . . . The primary is a tremendous improvement on the old caucus method of picking candidates but it can be further improved whenever the General Assembly is willing to face up to the chore."

The Rhode Island League of Women Voters singles out an added major complaint, namely, that, unlike the *Model*, no time is reserved for unendorsed candidates to file after the organization slate is announced. Another deficiency is that unendorsed candidates may not combine to seek signatures on a joint petition. The league also asserts that the first column position and the asterisks on the ballot give endorsees the advantage, "placing the unendorsed candidate under a great handicap, which is difficult to overcome except under unusual circumstances."

The National Municipal League *Model* does not support giving endorsees a more convenient position on the voting machine but does favor identifying them by asterisks or in some other way on the supposition that all voters are entitled to the information.

R. S. C.

Contest Held for Good Canadian City Reports

The Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities has granted awards to thirteen cities for outstanding municipal annual reports. The federation's contest was announced in 1953 and 42 reports were received up to May 31, 1954, the closing date.

Gold seal awards were made for the most outstanding report in each of four population groups (two such awards being made in one group), and red seal awards were given to eight cities receiving honorable mention. All reports were judged for content, understandability and attractiveness, by a group of three judges outside the federation.

Tokyo Has Municipal Matrimonial Bureau

Municipal functions steadily multiply everywhere throughout the world but Tokyo must be ahead of the procession in that, according to the *Tokyo Municipal News*, it has a matrimonial agency in its Public Welfare Bureau managed by a woman chief who studied sociology for ten years in the United States.

She has accumulated a list of 5,000 persons who are looking for wives or husbands and by various social devices brings together couples that might be congenial and, if nothing comes of the first attempt, she supplies another potential match.

The agency has been running twenty years and is described as unique in Japan.

R. S. C.

County and Township . . . . Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Butte County, Calif., Seeks New Charter

Taxpayers Group Leads Campaign for Revision

AN INTENSIVE campaign is being launched in Butte County, California, under the leadership of the County Taxpayers Association, to revise the county's charter, adopted in 1917. The association has interested several county-wide organizations in the need for a thorough examination and revision of the charter. These groups are conducting their own studies. They will be prepared to assist a citizens charter review committee which it is planned to ask the county board of supervisors to appoint soon after February 1, 1955. The groups will later become the nucleus of a broad and representative base of public support for adoption of a revised charter.

Major points to be considered in the study are: (1) A county manager or executive in lieu of a county administrative officer with limited authority; (2) a centralized fiscal management under a county controller; (3) a personnel management program under a limited civil service system; (4) centralized management of non-expendable property; and (5) the extent to which offices should be filled by election.

Butte was the third county in the state to adopt a home rule charter. Today only eleven of the 58 counties have such charters.

THOMAS H. SWEENEY
Executive Secretary
Butte County Taxpayers Association

Baltimore County Elects Charter Board

The voters of Baltimore County, Maryland, on November 2, approved overwhelmingly the election of a charter board. The board must draw up a charter within the next six months, to be presented to the voters in 1956.

St. Louis County Votes for Police Consolidation

By an overwhelming vote of 117,157 to 24,091, voters of St. Louis County, Missouri, adopted an amendment to the county's charter to replace the traditional sheriff and constable system of police protection with a consolidated non-political county police system. (For a full account of the amendment's provisions, see the REVIEW for October, page 486).

Michigan Counties Replace Coroner with Medical Examiner

A bill to permit the board of supervisors of Wayne County (Detroit), the most populous area of Michigan, to abolish the office of coroner was passed by the 1953 legislature and signed by the governor. The law, by its terms, was not to become effective until January 1, 1954. So great was the pressure exerted by and on behalf of the incumbent coroners, however, that a referendum section was included to the end that the bill would not become effective until approved by a majority of those voting on the proposition in the county at any general or special election at which the question might be submitted by the supervisors.

One would have expected the question to be submitted at the November 2 election. An opinion sought by the supervisors from the county's prosecuting attorney, however, questioned the advisability of submission at that election, when the two coroners would be chosen for two-year terms—two inconsistent matters would confront the voters, causing confusion. The opinion further stated that it would be proper to submit the question at

the April 1955 election and, if approved by the voters, the act would become effective in ten days after the official declaration of the vote by the secretary of state. The board of supervisors could then abolish the office and appoint a county medical examiner as provided in the act.

Wayne County would then join with Kent, Oakland, Genesee and St. Joseph Counties, each of which has replaced coroners with a medical examiner. The first three took action under special legislative acts. St. Joseph County is the first to abolish its elective coroner under the state's 1953 optional law.[1] His replacement with an appointive medical examiner, chosen by the county supervisors, will take place January 1, 1955.

CHESTER J. MORSE
Executive Secretary
Detroit Citizens League

Milwaukee County to Make Administrative Survey

A survey of Milwaukee County, similar in nature to that of the city of Milwaukee started in 1949, is about to be launched. Important changes to bring about efficiency and economy are expected as a result of the survey.

Milwaukee County currently has a budget of $54,000,000, which represents a 57 per cent increase in a period of about five years. The county has 52 elected county and judicial officers and these, together with its many boards and commissions and other organizations, render over 200 governmental activities. In a recent issue of its *Bulletin*, the Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee included an organization chart of Milwaukee County government showing the complicated nature of the present system.

[1]See the REVIEW, July 1953, page 348.

Intergovernmental Relations Between Cities and Counties

A number of counties have participated in moves to enlarge the area of administration by inter-unit cooperation. In Colorado, Aspen City and Pitkin County have created a city-county planning and zoning commission. Both city and county officials look forward to increased direction and control of areas where ill-planned building and development have threatened existing property values. The new regional plan should lead to area-wide control.

The new St. Clair County–Port Huron, Michigan, joint governmental building was dedicated at ceremonies recently. The building, which will house offices of both the city and the county, cost $3,200,000.

In South Carolina a housing authority has been enlarged to include eighteen counties. Administrative economy was the goal in setting up the centralized authority which administers some 718 low-rent public housing units in 22 localities in the eighteen counties. The commission is composed of one member from each of the counties and one commissioner at large.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Wins Again in Cincinnati

Recount Proves Voters Want Hare System in Use 30 Years

FOR the fourth time in the past eighteen years, Cincinnati voters on November 2 reaffirmed their support of the city's proportional representation system of electing members of city council. An amendment to the Cincinnati charter designed to eliminate the P.R. election provision and substitute a limited vote plurality system was defeated by the narrow margin of 672 votes in a total of 149,964 polled on the issue.

The slimness of the margin is not new in Cincinnati's history. In the 1936 May primary elections, when the first attempt to kill P.R. was made, P.R. won by 831 votes; in a special election in June 1939, the second attempt was defeated by 742; and in November 1947, in conjunction with the regular council election, the third attempt was rejected by a margin of 7,602.

This latest repeal effort presented the most formidable array yet to confront the City Charter Committee, sponsors and traditional supporters of P.R. In addition to the Hamilton County Republican machine, which has fought P.R. bitterly from the time of its first proposal in 1924, the opposition included a loud section — though of uncertain strength—of the Hamilton County Democratic party, numbering among others the chairmen of both the Democratic central and Democratic executive committees.

The campaign was made all the more ominous by the deceptive stratagem of the anti-P.R. forces which marshalled their various elements under the misleading cognomen, "Charter Improvement League." Anti-P.R. workers preyed upon less well informed voters throughout the city by representing themselves as "charter" workers. Even precinct election officials were confused by the deception and by the ambiguous wording of the ballot proposal itself into concluding that a "yes" vote was a vote *for* P.R. rather than *against*.

Two other factors militated against P.R. supporters. The proposal itself—substituting a simple "X" ballot with the voter restricted to marking for six candidates or less (with nine to be elected) —was solemnly held forth as a complete guarantee of the maintenance of minority representation, one of the principal arguments in the P.R. arsenal.

The second factor had to do with the mayoralty situation existing in Cincinnati's city council from May until eight days after the November election. The death of Mayor Waldvogel in May found the Charter majority elected in 1953 no longer a majority, the fifth Charter councilman, Albert Jordan, a steelworker union official, having resigned from the group in a rage over the imposition of a temporary 1 per cent earnings tax levied to balance the city's budget. Jordan declined to vote for Vice Mayor Dorothy N. Dolbey, whose promotion to the mayoralty office, which she had filled most creditably during Waldvogel's two-months illness prior to his death, seemed to Charter supporters generally as the most natural and advisable solution. The deadlock that resulted—though clearly not ascribable to P.R.—nevertheless was seized upon by the "Charter Improvement League" as evidence of P.R.'s deficiencies. (The

cynicism of the argument was revealed on November 3—the day after election—when it became known that Jordan would cast his vote for the Republican machine floor leader in council, Carl W. Rich. This he did one week later, November 10.)

In the face of this adverse combination of forces and events, the City Charter Committee mustered its most vigorous campaign in recent years. Although handicapped by having at its disposal less than half the funds of the anti-P.R. forces, the Charter group made the anti-P.R. amendment the hottest issue in an election in which voters were confronted by seven separate ballots, seventeen questions and issues, and 62 candidates ranging from governor and U. S. senator to county commissioners and common pleas judges.

Newspaper, television and radio coverage—much of it necessarily on a commercial basis—blanketed the community. Scores of speaking engagements and house meetings were scheduled and nearly 600,000 pieces of literature were distributed. So pressing became the issue that even the Hamilton County Board of Elections informally broke a long-standing rule requiring counting of the ballots for governor first, to permit a counting of the ballots on the P.R. issue as soon as the polls closed.

Actually the elections board return on November 3 proclaimed P.R. dead and the amendment carried by 596 votes. But the Charter Committee wisely had recruited witnesses for the election count in the great majority of the city's 723 polling places. As a result, Charter leaders with their own reports of the precinct voting felt able to predict election night that P.R. would be found saved by several hundred votes.

When the adverse "unofficial" return of the election board was made "official" November 10, the Charter Committee promptly challenged the result and set about getting the evidence and the funds ($10 per precinct) on which to base a demand for a recount. This ultimately they were able to do and, on November 18, a recount of ballots in 497 of the city's 723 precincts resulted in a reversal of the "official" return. The amendment was declared defeated by 792 votes. For the first time in Hamilton County history, an election result had been reversed by recount.

The anti–P.R. elements then exercised their rights by advancing funds for a recount of the remaining 226 precincts not included in the Charter Committee's recount. In all but a few of these Charter witnesses were present on election night and confirmed election board returns. The opposition did pick up 120 votes, however, leaving the final margin of victory for P.R. on the recount of all precincts at 672.

Newspaper Coverage

The *Cincinnati Post,* which has always supported P.R., again gave effective aid in the campaign. In addition, the *Cincinnati Times-Star* for the first time took a position defending P.R.—declaring that "while we still dislike P.R. on a number of grounds, we dislike the proposed alternative even more." Support also came from many responsible Democrats who, disapproving the position of the party's titular leadership, organized as "Democrats for P.R." and mustered help from a large majority of the party's ward leaders.

Murray Seasongood, Charles P. Taft, Mrs. Albert D. Cash, Miss M. Julia Bentley (sister of the Charter Committee's first president, deceased), and many other noted figures of the Charter movement came forward to occupy key roles in the campaign. In the final analysis, however, victory lay as much in the P.R. record of good, able councilmen, elected over a period of 30 years, as in any other factor. For most Cincinnatians, even though their majority is a small one,

P.R. obviously still remains synonymous with the effort for good government.

FOREST FRANK, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

P. R. League Meets in Kansas City

The Proportional Representation League, Inc., now operating as a department of the National Municipal League, held its annual meeting at the latter's National Conference on Government in Kansas City, Missouri, November 8, 1954. Richard S. Childs of New York City, a member of the board of trustees and former president of the P.R. League, presided. Delegates from six cities and five states attended.

The entire board of trustees was reelected for the coming year: Mr. Childs; Robert P. Goldman of Cincinnati; C. G. Hoag of Haverford, Pennsylvania; Andrew B. Holmstrom, former mayor of Worcester, Massachusetts; Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, of Wethersfield, Connecticut; Oxie Reichler, editor of the Yonkers (New York) *Herald Statesman;* and Thomas Raeburn White of Philadelphia.

The meeting recommended to the trustees the election of Robert P. Goldman, president of the Cincinnati Bar Association and law associate of former Mayor Murray Seasongood, as president to succeed Mr. Holmstrom, who had asked to be relieved of the position's responsibilities for lack of time. It also recommended the reelection of all the other officers: Thomas Raeburn White, vice president; C. G. Hoag, honorary secretary; George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary of the New York Citizens Union, executive secretary; Elsie S. Parker, assistant editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, assistant secretary and treasurer.

Mrs. Albert D. Cash, former member of the Cincinnati City Council, reported briefly on the campaign to retain P.R. in her city, the results of which were still inconclusive, and on the plans under way for a partial recount on the strength of discrepancies between the official figures and the reports of election witnesses. (See the first article in this department above.)

The meeting discussed and recommended a plan by which special funds would be sought for traveling expenses, stenographic help and materials for continuing educational and field work out of Cincinnati as a center, with a well grounded volunteer in charge locally and general cooperation and oversight from the central office in New York.

Plans were also discussed with Thomas S. Green, Jr., and Francis A. Harrington, of the Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester, for a revival of the Massachusetts Plan E Association under local auspices, to do educational work on P.R. throughout Massachusetts and to campaign for a repeal of the ban on new P.R. adoptions in that state.

Those attending the meeting regarded the present low ebb of the P.R. movement in the United States as a serious but temporary reverse, due primarily to the accurate representation of a Communist minority on the P.R.-elected New New York City Council at a time when the United States and Soviet Russia were friendly allies. Belief was expressed that P.R. is bound to spread again because it offers the only answer to some of the most serious problems of representative democracy. The discussion emphasized the desirability of being alert for every opportunity for new adoptions so as to secure the benefits of P.R. with the least possible delay.

G. H. H., Jr.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Federal Highway Bonds Proposed

Would Raise by 50 Per Cent 1955-64 Decade Expenditures

ONE OF the toughest problems likely to face the 84th Congress will, like similar problems of state and local governing bodies, revolve around highway improvements and their financing. The president's advisory committee on a national highway program, headed by General Lucius D. Clay, chairman of the Continental Can Company, has already recommended a ten-year improvement program to cost an estimated $50,000,000,000.

At a meeting of the American Petroleum Institute in Chicago in early November, the general, according to press reports, stated that an additional $26,000,000,000 would be needed, $23,000,000,000 for improvement of existing interstate highways and $3,000,000,000 for new construction. The $76,000,000,000 total would be additional to existing highway expenditures, now running at about $6,000,000,000 annually and including about $1,000,000,000 of federal motor fuel taxes and the remainder state and local revenues and borrowings.

Controversy may be expected to center in the means of financing the proposed comprehensive program. Committee recommendations have not yet taken final form, but suggestions range from 100 per cent federal assumption of interstate highway costs to proposals that the whole program be financed with revenue bonds on a limited access toll road basis. At the Chicago conference, General Clay is reported to have called attention to the fact that of the present $1,000,000,000 of federal highway revenues, about $550,000,000 is turned back to the states, leaving some $450,000,000 which could be used to service federal highway bonds to meet part of the ten-year program expenditures.

Big Issues Carry at November Election

State and local voters, called on to consider proposals to issue about $1,500,000,000 in new bonds at the election November 2, evidently approved a majority of the propositions, although the unusual interest in close contests for elected offices throughout the nation contributed to slowness in reporting results on propositions.

The largest bond authorizations secured their needed majorities: New York State voters authorized two issues, for mental hospitals and slum clearance, aggregating $550,000,000, while California voters authorized $275,000,000, also comprising two issues and to be used for the veterans' loan and school building aid programs. Other large issues approved included: $54,530,000 by Philadelphia voters, $35,300,000 by Cleveland voters, $35,000,000 for roads by Colorado electors, $32,500,000 by voters of the Long Beach, California, unified school district, $19,500,000 by San Francisco voters, $14,800,000 sewer bonds by voters of Westchester County, New York, $11,500,000 by voters of Cincinnati, and $11,000,000 by Hamilton County, in which the city is located, and $11,400,000 by voters of New Orleans. Seattle voters, faced with $23,100,000 of proposed city issues, approved only $10,000,000.

Nebraska voters evidently approved a constitutional amendment prohibiting the state from levying a property tax for state purposes in the event the legislature adopts either a general sales tax or an income tax, or both. Also approved, according to preliminary returns, is an amendment authorizing the legislature to

prescribe standards for assessing real and tangible personal property. An amendment which would have provided for an appointive tax commission with jurisdiction over administration of the revenue laws of the state and power to review and equalize assessments was narrowly defeated by a vote of 149,134 against the amendment to 149,108 for it.

Among eleven constitutional amendments submitted to the voters in Texas, four pertained specifically to state or local fiscal problems and were approved by large majorities. One authorized the creation of county-wide hospital districts in the counties of Dallas, Bexar, El Paso, Harris, Jefferson, Tarrant and Galveston, with separate borrowing powers and the right to levy general property taxes up to 75 cents per $100 of assessed valuation. Another implemented existing legislation intended to authorize the construction of toll roads with revenue bonds by prohibiting the lending of the state's credit to support toll highways. Another raised the limit on the state's public welfare expenditures from $35,000,000 to $42,000,000, and the fourth provided for the election of assessors-collectors in counties of 10,000 population or less.

California voters, in addition to approving the two bond proposals, approved a group of amendments writing into the constitution various exemptions from property taxes for properties of educational, religious and charitable organizations. An amendment authorizing the use of state highway revenues for construction of parking facilities was defeated.

Interesting also were the results on special tax propositions in Cincinnati. Earlier this year the city council there had enacted a 1 per cent income tax, to be used for seven months of 1954 and based on seven-twelfths of estimated 1954 income. As an alternative, there was submitted at the November 2 election a proposal to authorize a special property tax levy of 6.22 mills for 1955 and 1956. Voters approved substitution of the special property levy for the income tax. In the suburban community of Norwood, which to protect its residents from "double taxation" had adopted a payroll tax last spring and also submitted as an alternative on November 2 a proposal for a special operating tax levy, the voters failed to approve the special levy. So, while the central city's income tax lapses and a special property tax takes its place, in the suburb the income tax will continue.

Bond-free Program Succeeds in Greenwich

On August 1, 1954, the town of Greenwich, Connecticut, realized one of the objectives of a financial program inaugurated 21 years earlier. It paid off the last of its outstanding bonded debt, under a program begun in 1933 to substitute annual budget appropriations for borrowing in financing recurring capital improvements.

Like many communities, the town had financed its capital requirements through the lush 1920s by the issuance of bonds, a procedure supported by substantial and continued increases in assessed valuations. By the end of 1931 the borrowing program was brought to a halt by inability to sell additional bonds in the sick financial markets of the period, and a small operating deficit was evident, caused by mounting relief requirements. Conditions worsened in 1932, with rising tax delinquency curtailing revenues and budget flexibility handicapped by the fact that more than one-fifth of the appropriations were for debt service.

Pay-as-you-go as a means of eliminating interest costs and adding to budget flexibility was suggested and, in 1933, with the aid of special legislation providing for substitution of a representative town meeting for the old open town meeting, the first budget on the new plan was adopted. The budget was raised 10

(Continued on page 604)

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

What Is Civic 'Production'?

Citizen Groups Should Each Year Complete Some Projects

ONE OF the best things that could happen to a civic organization would be to have its contributors dole out its revenues only when it wraps up a solid project bettering its community which it originated and pushed through to completion.

This would place it on a parity with the ordinary business establishment which "doesn't eat" unless it makes sales. This may be impractical but it certainly would ensure greater production by our many civic agencies which yearly collect hundreds of thousands of dollars from their supporters.

Contributors to these organizations are far more lenient about demanding results than they are for their own businesses or for enterprises in which they own stock. True, they are dutifully provided with annual reports of activities by the secretaries of these civic agencies. But close analysis would disclose that some of these reports sound like a roaring motor in a car which is standing still.

Without discounting the accomplishments of the scores of hard-working secretaries all over the country, probably every civic league and similar organization could greatly increase its present "production" by changes in procedure and a reappraisal of its goals.

Here are some reasons.

Not too many civic secretaries have gone through a tough enough internship during which the need for "production" was beaten into them as it is into many young men in the business world.

Civic secretaries are not under the harsh compulsion to "produce or else," because their supporters mail in their checks year after year without quibbling. Of course, if the organization is actually ineffectual, members will quit.

Some secretaries don't have too clear an idea as to what "production" is expected of them. Some regard surveys or reports, which are decked with copious footnotes and appendices, as terminal depots when in fact they are only way stations. Actual installation of the project is the important thing, not its recommendation.

Ask a businessman supporter what he expects from his civic organization. In all likelihood he will say something like this.

"I can't be too specific because I'm a manufacturer—not a civic secretary. But I expect our civic organization to wind up the year with a few jobs accomplished which will result in a tax savings which can be approximately measured; and other jobs completed which will improve public services even though they may not show a money savings. I expect our secretary to originate such projects or to have sense enough to pick up a good project which is started by a public official. I expect him to keep a close watch on all important public transactions in our community and to assume the responsibility for sounding a Paul Revere alarm if he detects something serious on the make which should be blocked. Also, I realize the responsibility of our board or committee members to assist our secretary in doing these things."

Sometime, a Joe DiMaggio of a civic secretary is going to appear on the municipal scene and knock out so many home runs of money-saving and service-improving jobs as to set a new standard toward which other agencies will have to strive. Also, these jobs will bring him

hundreds of new members with little effort, because that is basically what the citizen wants—to save money and get better public service. We are still under the strong impression that this type of civic job will attract more new members than a long research report which traces the lines of administrative command from the mayor to dog-catcher.

Here are three types of production jobs by a civic agency:

1. Projects with immediately measurable results which save money and provide better public service;
2. Projects which are obviously beneficial but whose results cannot be immediately measured;
3. Projects in civic education.

The first type of project is the hardest to achieve, which is the reason why so few appear in annual reports of civic agencies. They arouse more opposition because saving money usually means that some present employees will not be needed under the new plan. A sample of this kind of project is the installation of complete mechanical accounting in the county assessor's and treasurer's offices to simplify and speed up writing the annual tax rolls and the tax bills. Another would be to secure the passage of an act taking away from the sheriff his per diem fee for feeding prisoners in the county jail. Another would be to persuade the county commissioners on good grounds to lop off several million dollars in a proposed road bond issue.

The second type of project is similar to the first except that the results are not immediately measurable. An example would be passage by the legislature of a joint resolution to submit a constitutional amendment to the voters permitting counties to adopt home rule charters. Another which would earn public gratitude, although it might not save money, would be to secure a law requiring the titles of ballot propositions to be crisply descriptive and in large type.

Easiest projects to put over are those under the heading of citizens' education. One of these could be a series of television shows. A weekly newsletter to all the members would come under this category.

How many jobs a year should a civic secretary put across? Experience of veteran civic secretaries shows that if he has one assistant to do much of the leg work, he should be able to complete not less than twenty large and small jobs a year.

Emphasize the 'Pay Dirt'

That this sense of production—of completing jobs with tangible results—is not especially keen in some civic agencies can be discerned from their annual reports. Their annual statements do not start out listing, with the emphasis of a page one murder story, their one or two big jobs of the year as though they were proud of them and wanted their members to hear about them. One fails to sense the satisfaction of the man who has "brought home the bacon."

Some reports contain such comments as, "We studied the city's classification plan" or "We reviewed the county's purchasing procedure." This is fine as far as it goes but it fails to mention the pay-dirt discovered or tangible results ensuing from recommendations.

This type of report would be similar to the annual statement of a large automobile manufacturing plant which emphasized a laborious research job on a new spring and mentioned only incidentally the number of cars sold last year, which, after all, is the main goal of its existence.

The civic secretary can profitably spend some of his time while shaving or mowing his lawn in thinking up profitable jobs for his agency. It is surprising how many good ideas will pop into a mind which is open to receive them in the tensionless hours away from the office. This off-hours mental prospecting

for nuggets of ideas won't bring on any nervous prostration either. Rather, it will refresh him like his morning calisthenics. As a word of caution, it should not be carried on to the extent that wives will complain about abstracted husbands.

Then what a rewarding glow will be his when, a year or two later, he hears the final and clinching "aye" from a city council member which puts his idea into official effect.

Of course, he should be equally alert to recognize and come to the support of some meritorious proposal by someone else—say a city or county official. He should rally to it the help of his organization even though such "we too" support doesn't give him the satisfaction of a job which he originated.

Inventory of Accomplishments

Here is a stimulating little exercise for a civic secretary which will have as good an effect on his morale as deep breathing has on his physical being. He should keep an accumulative inventory of his more important accomplishments over the years. Each year, he should be able to add several to a half dozen from the list of the past year's jobs. The force of this list would be diluted by including minor jobs which, while they may have been significant this year, are hardly important enough to be transmitted to posterity.

This inventory of accomplishments will serve several purposes. It will furnish a list of worthwhile accomplishments to reinforce the sales-arguments of a member of your finance committee when trying to get a prospect to subscribe. Also, on a blue day, the secretary can restore his self-confidence by running his eyes over these past jobs which he had a major share in putting through, as the miser runs his fingers through the jewels in his casket. Lastly, it will give the secretary a measure as to whether he is increasing his "production" over the years or is slipping.

Picture a young man who has just acquired a position as secretary of a civic league or research bureau in a fair-sized city. He is scared to death at the job he faces. Confronting him are a city hall and county court house filled with officials who are conducting, excellently, indifferently or badly, several hundred different public operations and all are likely to resist violently any changes he may suggest. He suddenly realizes that he, a lone young man with not too much experience in the civic arena, is expected to explore this bewildering public mechanism, expose its sore spots, contrive remedies and persuade these veteran public officials to adopt his suggestions. The young man momentarily has a strong desire to flee.

But he can take heart. In the past 50 years many others have preceded him on this rugged path of civic reform and have left records of remarkable success. Your veteran civic secretary will testify that he has a batting average of putting through about 75 per cent of the jobs he has tackled over a period of years.

The young secretary's tools are perseverance with some knowledge and intelligence. He will learn that, when his pet project is tossed into the ditch by public officials, he can pick it up, dust it off and wait for the appropriate time to revive it, which is bound to occur. The chances are good that, on the second or third attempt, he will be successful.

C. A. Crosser, *Secretary*
Municipal League of Seattle
and King County

Victory Celebration

Two days after the November 2 election, Citizens of Greater Chicago turned their third annual meeting into a victory celebration for the state's "Blue Ballot Reapportionment Amendment." "CGC and its 225 member organizations covered the Chicago area with informa-

tion and material about the Blue Ballot," reports a bulletin of CGC. Tens of thousands of Blue Ballot tags were distributed on tag day, October 29.[1]

'I Have Voted'

Instead of distributing gold feathers to citizens who went to the polls in the state of Washington this November, the office of the Secretary of State distributed badges stating: "State Seal Citizen—I Have Voted." Some 800,000 badges, made available by the Citizens' Voting Committee, composed of representatives of both major political parties, labor and civic groups, were distributed to voting precincts throughout the state.

Quarter Million Use Report

The Municipal League of Seattle and King County, Washington, reports that by the time November 2 rolled around nearly a quarter of a million people had read the league's fall election report. So great was the demand for the *Report on Candidates and Issues* that a second press run was necessary. Other thousands read the report in Seattle's two daily newspapers. All this, says the league's *Municipal News,* "is gratifying evidence that voters want an unbiased, nonpartisan election report to help them make their decisions before they go to the polls."

De Soto Jaycees Get Award

Associated Industries of Missouri, a statewide organization, at its 35th annual meeting in October, presented the De Soto (Missouri) Junior Chamber of Commerce with its 1954 Community Relations Award for communities of 5,000-10,000. The Jaycees were given a plaque, according to *The Jefferson Republic,* "in recognition of their vigorous program to interest citizens in their city government, to acquaint them with their responsibilities as citizens, and to encourage them to vote in city elections." Basis for the award was the successful campaign which the Jaycees conducted early this year for retention of the council-manager plan, adopted in 1948.

Gordon T. Beaham, Jr., president of AIM, commented: "While De Soto is the smallest community represented, the program of its Junior Chamber of Commerce rates our highest commendations. If America is to remain free we must all of us live up to our individual responsibilities as free men and women. The De Soto Junior Chamber of Commerce program vividly demonstrates the tangible good which can be accomplished when groups of businessmen speak out publicly for their firm convictions."

De Soto, one of five Missouri communities honored by AIM, was an All-America City in the 1953 contest of the National Municipal League and *Look* magazine.

Citizen Welfare Committees

"Citizen Boards and Advisory Committees in Public Welfare Administration," by Kittye Clyde Austin, is the title of an article appearing in the October 1954 issue of *Public Welfare,* journal of the American Public Welfare Association. "Citizen boards are important in public welfare administration and more thought needs to be given to their potentialities," says a secondary head.

Students in Politics

During the campaign leading up to the November 2 elections, twenty Barnard College (women's college at Columbia University) students aided at the headquarters of some fourteen state and local candidates as part of their study of practical politics. Duties of the volunteers included helping to write platforms and speeches, canvassing districts and supervising other volunteers doing such chores as addressing, stuffing and mail-

[1] See page 586, this issue.

ing of envelopes. Each student devoted from five to fifteen hours weekly to the campaign, in conjunction with a course in practical politics under American Political Parties and Practice.

Some 25 University of Minnesota students, early in October, worked for Republican and Democratic-Farmer-Labor candidates for the Minnesota legislature. They rang doorbells, posted placards, mailed literature and spoke before audiences. The students are enrolled in a course on Field Work in Government and Politics, the purpose of which is to teach citizenship through active and often arduous participation.[1]

Teaching Local Government

An eight-weeks school on the governments of Minneapolis and Hennepin County has been arranged by the Citizens' League of Greater Minneapolis and the League of Women Voters. It offers some unusual insights into the way our local government machinery works, reports the Citizens League *News Bulletin*. "Sessions will stress the influence of interests and pressures on the city council and the county board, the importance of committees and committee chairmanship, and will dissect both the existing and the alternative ways of organizing and financing the governments." Professors of political science, public officials and civic leaders will be among those addressing the sessions.

Xavier University, in cooperation with the city of Cincinnati, is conducting an adult course in city government "to provide interested citizens an opportunity to better know the organization, functioning, objectives and problems of their city government." City officials will address those in attendance and liberal use will be made of motion pictures, slides, maps, charts, etc.

[1]See also the REVIEW, February 1953, page 96.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 599)

per cent, to provide for full debt service and the repayment of the accumulated operating deficiencies, but only the provision for relief was increased among the operating appropriations, all others being cut. Foreclosure proceedings were instituted for the first time in years to collect delinquent taxes. The result was to reduce the town's total debt from $6,085,000 at the beginning of the year to $5,718,000 at the end of the year, and replace the deficit with an operating cash surplus of $36,268.

Succeeding budgets continued adherence to a policy of providing current revenues to meet anticipated requirements, including debt service which in 1935 took nearly 28 per cent of total expenditures. That same year, the town completed construction of a school for which it had been unable to sell bonds in 1931, and with the total debt down to less than $5,000,000. In 1939 short-term borrowing was introduced to provide for short-term financing of major projects, and since 1943 a reserve fund has been accumulated to provide for capital and non-recurring outlays.

The town's story is told in a little booklet, *Greenwich, 1954: The Year of Jubilee,* which bears the notation "Published at no expense to the Greenwich taxpayers," and was prepared by Mrs. C. Y. Belknap and Reynolds Girdler. "Significantly," it states, "the last bond retired had originally been created to refund a debt contracted during the Civil War—a fitting reminder of the blithe spirit with which one generation could impose its debt on posterity during the days of the Town's grasshopper financing."

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Fifty Years of Citizen Research

Bureaus Have Done Much to Raise Government Standards

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below, by JOHN F. WILLMOTT, executive director of the Dade County Research Foundation, Miami, Florida, is made up of excerpts from his September 11 address before the American Political Science Association at Chicago.

CITIZEN research in state and local government has been going on in this country for almost 50 years. It started in 1905 when a group of civic leaders in New York City decided to find out *why* the city was so badly governed, *what* specific things were wrong with it, and *how* they could help officials get better results with the taxpayer's dollar. So they formed an association called the Bureau of City Betterment, which was later renamed the Bureau of Municipal Research.

Since then, the citizen research movement has spread until now there are more than one hundred such organizations in all parts of the United States. They are called citizens' research bureaus, councils, institutes and taxpayers' leagues. In this paper all these agencies are called citizen research associations. All have a common objective: better government through fact-finding, through citizen education and through cooperation with public officials.

The surveys and reports of the various citizen research associations touch every function and activity of government. In the beginning, of course, almost every research agency delves into budgeting and accounting because proper budgeting and accounting are indispensable for financial planning and administrative control of every public function. Other basic subjects, such as over-all organization, purchasing, planning and personnel administration, are generally treated during the early years of a research unit and appear again and again in its reports.

In addition, the various operating functions have been surveyed. Proposed bond issues, budgets and tax levies, initiative and referendum measures, proposed legislation, new charters and charter amendments, and other proposals which are pending before state and local bodies or which await the voters' decision are analyzed by citizen research bodies in published reports.

Organization of Research Agency

Citizen research associations are local, autonomous organizations, but the basic organization structure is the same in practically every case. It consists of a membership, a governing board and a research staff headed by an executive director. The board of trustees or board of directors sets general policies, hires the executive director, determines the program of activities, exercises general control over operations, reviews major reports in final draft, approves the budget and raises money to finance the organization.

Is there any danger that the board's thinking on any given subject will be influenced by personal or business bias or by the political connections of individual directors? That does happen, of course. To expect otherwise would be more than a little naive. But such occurrences are extremely rare and of short duration. If the board is well balanced with representation of different interests and viewpoints, other directors will raise an outcry if one board member attempts to steer the ship around to his own dock for his own selfish benefit.

The day-to-day work of a research association is carried on by the executive

director and his staff. They are in close touch with the process of government. They attend meetings of public bodies. They talk constantly with officials. You will find them at police headquarters, in the finance department, at a school, out at the incinerator or in the city hospital. You may even see them at a fire. Everywhere they go, they are observing and analyzing the work of government. And they are constantly asking themselves, "How can this particular job be done more efficiently?"

Work with Officials

We have said that the principal objective of a citizen research association is to help officials improve government. How can that best be done? Well that all depends upon the attitude and outlook of the officials.

Let us consider first the most favorable situation—which we will call Type 1—where the officials are intelligent, alert, forward-looking. In that case, the citizen research agency is accepted by officials and a cordial relationship develops. In fact, the association is frequently at its wit's end to keep up with the insistent demands of officeholders for information and advice.

Much of the association's work will be carried on quietly and without publicity unless the official concerned desires to publicize it. The association seeks no public credit. It will, of course, report its activities to its members, but such a report will not be publicized. In that sort of situation, a research association is almost never militant or sharply critical; it doesn't have to be.

Now let us consider the second type of situation, one in which most of the officials are honest and devoted to good government in the abstract but have never had much contact with any other system except the one which they have been using for many years and which they believe to be perfect.

Officials with such an outlook will generally welcome the research association and will assume that its surveys will be favorable, even flattering. However, the association's first X-rays of the department or institution in question may show a diseased condition which not even the researchers had suspected. A complete reorganization is obviously in order with installation of controls and modern methods. No other recommendation is possible.

No matter how mild the research recommendations, no matter how well supported by facts, and no matter how tactful the presentation, officials will be shocked, hurt and angry. Some of them will explode and go right up through the courthouse roof. And, of course, that is what courthouse roofs are for, as any architect will tell you.

What can the research association do under such circumstances to win official support for needed changes? One good way is to wait. Six months from now, a tactful researcher may be able to sell some of those recommendations to the very same officials, particularly if the researcher can relate the recommendations to official problems and headaches which have developed in the meantime.

If, after waiting and negotiating with the officials immediately concerned and with their superiors, it appears that nothing is going to happen, the research association will probably resort to publicity.

If the research association's recommendations are sound, effectively presented, and widely disseminated and persistently followed up, the association will ultimately win. And if it has competent staff, sound leadership and strong membership support, it will ultimately transform its community into the type of environment previously described as Type 1.

We come now to the third type of community, one in which government is backward, permeated with politics, waste and inefficiency, and the target of public

suspicion. In that case there will be no welcome for researchers or other critics. The doors may be shut and locked and employees may be instructed not to give any information to the research agency.

Research reports and recommendations may be courteously received but will be ignored. Attempts to negotiate will be like dealing with the Russians: you waste a lot of time talking but you don't get anywhere.

Where officials are unresponsive and adamant, the research association should lay the facts and the needs of the situation before other civic, business and professional organizations. Some of these organizations will endorse the reforms proposed by the research association and may wage a militant campaign to force officials to act. Or they may send the research association's report to the grand jury and demand an investigation of conditions.

The Worst Situation

In an aggravated Type 3 situation, officials may be fearful of consequences, such as removal from office, grand jury investigation or a term in the penitentiary. This may cause them to launch frantic attacks against the research association. Button-holing of directors, pressures upon members to quit the association, heavy loss of financial support and threats of libel suits are some of the things which may be thrown at the research agency.

That is when the directors and members of the association have to stand firm, look the officials right in the eye and call their bluff. In such circumstances much depends upon the confidence and prestige which the research association has built for itself in the community. If it is highly regarded, the press and various civic organizations will support it and the truculent officials will soon find that they are not just fighting the research association but a large group of decent citizens who are fed up with official racketeering and tax waste.

If the research association sticks to its guns, meets hysterical counter charges and accusations with calm facts tactfully presented, officials will ultimately find themselves in a vulnerable position where their continuance in office and their hold on public confidence is slipping. Ultimately, the citizen research agency's work will bear fruit. Slowly but surely, the political climate of the community will change. Official hostility will cease. Higher standards of public morals and official behavior will be established. And the community will ultimately become a Type 2 or even Type 1 environment. The research agency will then be able to work harmoniously and effectively with all elements in the community.

Citizen research associations have now had almost half a century of existence and fruitful achievement. Dr. John M. Gaus, in *A Study of Research in Public Administration,* points out that, although not all advances in the field of public administration can be attributed to organized citizen concern with government, yet it was the governmental research bureaus which initiated and developed modern methods of administration across the country.

I believe you will agree with me that these citizen research associations, working quietly and helpfully where possible and courageously and openly where necessary, have done much to raise the standards of state and local government. Let us hope that their number and usefulness will richly increase in the years to come.

(Listings of research pamphlets and articles are combined with the listings at the end of Books in Review.)

Books in Review

THE MAYOR'S WIFE—CRUSADE IN KANSAS CITY. By Marjorie Beach. New York City, Vantage Press, Inc., 1953. x, 210 pp. $3.

Machine politics in American cities have received fairly thorough treatment in books before, but Marjorie Beach's story of her husband's fight against the Pendergast machine in Kansas City during the 1920s has a personal and dramatic note which will bring its message home to a wide variety of readers.

The personal documentation in the book is what lifts it above the ordinary run of books on the subject. One of the humorous—and at the same time maddening—scenes revolves about the experience of four women who ventured into Kansas City's notorious Twelfth Street district to make a poll to weed out fraudulent voters. In one day the women, disguised as Red Cross workers searching for missing relatives, turned up over 200 fraudulent votes, among them Tom Muffet, Peter Piper and Simon Blue, three tropical fish.

Among the many interesting tales recounted in the book, one of particular interest to readers of the REVIEW will be the story of how a machine politician was picked in 1925 by a five-to-four Pendergast majority on the Kansas City council to be city manager.

Albert Beach, then entering his second term as a reform mayor, was faced with an impossible situation, and the frustrations he experienced as the city's chief executive with the politically picked city manager are at once interesting and frightening. It is a living illustration of a council-manager charter being voted on at the wrong time—in this case, when the good government groups had not consolidated their forces sufficiently to have a good council elected in the first place.

Mrs. Beach concludes her narrative before the sweeping changes of the 1940s were accomplished, changes which have righted the wrongs of the city's maladministration during the years when her husband was fighting for clean, efficient government.

ANDREW J. LAZARUS

URBAN TRAFFIC — A FUNCTION OF LAND USE. By Robert B. Mitchell and Chester Rapkin. New York 27, Columbia University Press, 1954. xviii, 226 pp. $5.00.

This important book is a milestone in the quest to place urban planning on a scientific footing. Its reasoning and conclusions are indispensable for understanding traffic problems, for evaluating existing transportation planning theories and methods, and for developing a more adequate approach to transportation.

It has been recognized for many years that activities using land and the transportation facilities serving them are completely interdependent. But the exact interrelation of transportation and land usage has remained largely uncharted to the present day.

Urban Traffic presents the first rounded framework of concepts and terminology to link the two aspects of man's activity. It furnishes a theoretical system for understanding traffic as part of the general productive living pattern of the urban area, and suggests ways of forecasting one from the other.

There is one major criticism of *Urban Traffic*, a reservation appropriate only because the book comes so close to encompassing an entire field. The text establishes beyond argument the impossibility of adequately considering traffic without at the same time considering land use. But strangely enough there is little consideration of another sector of the transportation problem that is just as closely

interrelated with urban traffic and very much more obviously so: the other modes of transportation such as rail, rapid transit and air. It is to be hoped that the authors in another book will integrate these additional forms of travel into their framework so as to complete their comprehensive statement on the movement of people and goods.

HENRY FAGIN

Regional Plan Association
New York City

THE DOCTRINE OF RESPONSIBLE PARTY GOVERNMENT—ITS ORIGINS AND PRESENT STATE. By Austin Ranney. Urbana, The University of Illinois Press, 1954. xi, 176 pp. Clothbound, $4.00; paperbound, $3.00.

This is a scholarly and competent analysis and comparison of the American Political Science Association's study, *Toward a More Responsible Two-party System*, and the concepts of leading writers of a generation ago—Woodrow Wilson, A. Lawrence Lowell, Henry Jones Ford, Frank J. Goodnow and Herbert Croly. The writer complains that these writers gave different meanings to key words like democracy and party membership and that such uncertainties plague the discussions of today. He argues also that modern political science should venture to define what a model party would be anyway!

R.S.C.

THE ADVICE AND CONSENT OF THE SENATE. By Joseph P. Harris. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953. xii, 457 pp. $5.00.

Here is an important study dealing with a major problem of American national government—senatorial confirmation of presidential appointments—which may be read with profit by students of state and local government. It is a comprehensive and scholarly account of this aspect of executive-legislative relations from the debates of the Constitutional Convention to Senator McCarthy's opposition to Ambassador Bohlen. Students of state politics will benefit from the revealing account of struggles for senatorial confirmation which often reflected various state and local issues, and always reflected the dilemma of "balance of power." Those who urge more or diminished power for state legislatures in the matter of confirming appointments will ponder with profit the author's criticisms of the U. S. Senate. Readers of the REVIEW may be interested to compare Professor Harris' excellent study of this matter in the federal structure with the *Model State Constitution* which nowhere provides for legislative control of executive appointments.

WILLIAM F. LARSEN

SUGGESTED STATE LEGISLATION. Program for 1955. By The Drafting Committee of State Officials. Chicago, The Council of State Governments, 1954. viii, 158 pp. $1.50.

This program of suggested state legislation is an annual feature of the Council of State Governments. Leading off with a summary of its proposed laws, it covers some 38 subjects from accident prevention to weights and measures. Included are recently promulgated uniform acts of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, which deal with such subjects as a uniform disposition of unclaimed property act, a uniform aircraft financial responsibility act and the National Municipal League's *Model State Medico-legal Investigative System* converted to the text of a model post-mortem examinations act.

In addition are included descriptions of the National Municipal League's new *Model State and Regional Planning Law, Model Election Administration System, Model Voter Registration System, Model Direct Primary Election System* and its four fiscal models—*Accrual Budget Law,*

Cash Basis Budget Law, County and Municipal Bond Law and *Real Property Tax Collection Law.*

Additional Books, Pamphlets and Articles

Administrative History

THE JACKSONIANS. A Study in Administrative History 1829-1861. By Leonard D. White. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1954. xii, 593 pp. $8.00.

Airports

AIRPORT AGENCIES IN METROPOLITAN AREAS. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, September 1954. 36 pp.

Civil Defense and Education

CIVIL DEFENSE AND HIGHER EDUCATION. Washington 6, D. C., American Council on Education, Committee on Civil Defense and Higher Education, March 1954. 18 pp.

Civil Service

BETTER GOVERNMENT NEEDS BETTER CIVIL SERVICE. By Harold L. Henderson. New York, National Civil Service League, *Good Government,* July-August 1954. 5 pp.

STATE CIVIL SERVICE IN KANSAS. By William H. Cape and Edwin O. Stene. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1954. 160 pp.

Constitutions

FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE CONSTITUTION. The Roots of American Constitutionalism. Edited by C. J. Friedrich and Robert G. McCloskey. New York, The Liberal Arts Press, 1954. 139 pp. Paper, 75 cents; cloth, $2.00.

METHODS OF STATE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM. By Albert L. Sturm. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, 1954. xii, 175 pp.

Education

A COOPERATIVE STUDY OF SCHOOL BUILDING NEEDS. NEWCASTLE-HENRY TOWNSHIP SCHOOL CORPORATION. Lafayette, Purdue University, Division of Education and Applied Psychology, 1953. 70 pp.

LAKE COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL FINANCIAL AND BUILDING PROBLEMS 1954 TO 1961-62. Waukegan (Illinois), Lake County Civic League, 1954. 21 pp.

A SURVEY OF THE INDIANAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOL. Indianapolis, Chamber of Commerce, Bureau of Governmental Research, May 1954. 75 pp.

Elections and Voting

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM IN BRITAIN, 1918-1951. By D. E. Butler. New York 11, Oxford University Press, 1953. xi, 222 pp. $3.40.

REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR'S STUDY COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS. Lansing, the commission, 1953. 33 pp.

Labor Relations

MUNICIPAL LABOUR RELATIONS IN CANADA. A Study of Some Problems Arising from Collective Bargaining Between Municipalities and Municipal Trade Unions. By S. J. Frankel and R. C. Pratt. Montreal, The Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities and The Industrial Relations Centre, McGill University, 1954. v, 87 pp. $2.50.

Metropolitan Areas

METROPOLITAN GROWTH AND ITS EFFECT ON DALLAS. Dallas 5, Southern Methodist University, Business Executives' Research Committee, 1954. 60 pp. Illus. $1.00. (Apply Dr. Warren A. Law, Southern Methodist University, Box 157, Dallas 5.)

OUR CITIFIED COUNTY. A Study of Cuyahoga County and Its Land Use Now, and for the Future. Cleveland, Regional Planning Commission. 29 pp. Maps.

Municipal Fund Investment

TECHNIQUES AND PROCEDURES OF INVESTMENT IN U. S. TREASURY BILLS. By Robert H. Bethke. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association. September 1954. 4 pp. 75 cents.

Municipal Government

THE CITY TRIES FOR BETTER MANAGEMENT. An Exercise in Municipal Self-improvement. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division, *P.E.L. Newsletter,* June-July 1954. 9 pp.

HANDBOOK FOR ILLINOIS MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS. By Thomas A. Matthews. Springfield, Illinois Municipal League, 1954. 58 pp. $1.00.

Parking

AUTOMOBILE PARKING IN THE UNITED STATES. Selected References 1946-1952. Washington 25, Highway Research Board, 1953. v, 119 pp. $1.35.

Planning

OFFICIAL JOINT PLANNING IN THE UNITED STATES. By Robert J. Piper. Chicago 37, American Society of Planning Officials, Planning Advisory Service, November 1953. 41 pp. $2.00.

Police Public Relations

ROCKS IN THE ROADWAY. A Treatise on Police Public Relations—by a Police Officer—for Police Officers. By Dan Hollingsworth. Chicago, Northwestern University, The Traffic Institute, July 1954. 51 pp.

Political Parties

INHERITED DOMAIN—POLITICAL PARTIES IN TENNESSEE. By William Goodman. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration, 1954. ix, 95 pp. $1.50.

Public Employees

REGULATING POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES. By Richard Christopherson. Chicago 37, Civil Service Assembly, 1954. 13 pp. $2.00. (Price to members, $1.50.)

Recreation

WASHINGTON STATUTES RELATING TO PARKS AND RECREATION WITH ANNOTATIONS. By Ernest H. Campbell and Henry D. Ambers. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, July 1954. xix, 121 pp. $2.00.

Research

CITIZEN RESEARCH: ITS VITAL ROLE TODAY. By Loren B. Miller. Toronto 2B, Canadian Tax Foundation, *Canadian Tax Journal,* May-June, 1954. 4 pp.

WISCONSIN RESEARCH INVENTORY. Madison, Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library, April 1954. 32 pp.

Retirement Systems

REPORT ON 1954 FEDERAL LEGISLATION RELATING TO PUBLIC EMPLOYEE RETIREMENT SYSTEM. By A. A. Weinberg. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1954. 4 pp. 50 cents.

Revenue Bonds

THE LAW OF REVENUE BONDS. By Lawrence E. Chermak. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1954. 236 pp. $5.00.

Salaries

FIRE DEPARTMENT SALARIES. Salaries in Effect in Fire Departments of the United States and Canada, April 1954. Washington, D. C., International Association of Fire Fighters, 1954. 13 pp. of tables.

1954 MICHIGAN MUNICIPAL WAGES AND SALARIES: Supplement to Michigan Municipal League Bulletin 73. Ann Arbor, the league, August 1954. 9 pp.

Streets and Highways

HOW TO GET THE MOST OUT OF OUR STREETS. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Transportation and Communication Department, 1954. 50 pp. Illus. $1.00.

Taxation and Finance

ADMISSIONS TAXES IN OHIO CITIES. Columbus 15, Ohio Municipal League, March 1954. 36 pp.

COMPENDIUM OF CITY GOVERNMENT FINANCES IN 1953. The 481 Cities Having More Than 25,000 Inhabitants in 1950. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1954. vi, 139 pp. 70 cents.

COUNTY FISCAL PROBLEMS IN CALIFORNIA. By Vincent T. Cooper and Wm. R. MacDougall. Sacramento 14, County

Supervisors Association of California, May 1954. 10 pp. Tables.

CRITERIA FOR JUDGING A MUNICIPAL FINANCIAL REPORT. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1954. 4 pp. 50 cents.

LOCAL TAX LEGISLATION, 1952-1954. Princeton (New Jersey), Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* July-August 1954. 14 pp. 50 cents.

STATE FUND STRUCTURE. Report to the Colorado General Assembly. Denver, Colorado Legislative Council, 1954. 13 pp., tables.

STATE GENERAL REVENUE WORKING BALANCE A NECESSITY—$15 Million Not Excessive. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, September 1954. 4 pp.

STATE SUPERVISION OF THE GENERAL PROPERTY TAX. Tallahassee, Florida State University, Bureau of Governmental Research and Service, 1953. 18 pp.

SUMMARY OF CITY GOVERNMENT FINANCES IN 1953. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, August 1954. 19 pp. 15 cents.

SUMMARY OF STATE GOVERNMENT FINANCES IN 1953. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, May 7, 1954. 21 pp. 15 cents.

TAX COMPARISON—JURISDICTIONS WITHIN THE WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA. Arlington County (Virginia), Office of the County Manager, August 1954. 18 pp.

TRENDS IN STATE FINANCE: 1953. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, January 1954. 44 pp.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS IN MUNICIPAL FINANCE. Princeton (New Jersey), Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* June 1954. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Townships

PROBLEMS OF URBAN TOWNS (TOWNSHIPS) IN MINNESOTA. St. Paul, Minnesota Legislative Research Committee, November 1953. 34 pp.

FAITH IS BASE OF FREEDOM

(Continued from page 582)

fought the issue fairly and squarely and won with 51 per cent of the voters' confidence.

I believe today's problems call for a kind of bravery. Bravery is a key to a state of mind—a state of national poise. Its result will be statesmanship. What matters most is that you and I act as we know we ought, even at the risk of unpleasant consequences.

Citizenship is a sacred trust. We need to be leaders who will proudly proclaim our religious heritage. We need to be leaders who will seek to know facts, to distinguish truth from lies. We need to be leaders who will be fearless in the face of criticism, to work for the betterment of all people.

On one Sunday in December many years ago, President Woodrow Wilson spoke on this common devotion while visiting England. He pointed out how the attempt to govern the world by a partnership of special interests had failed. And he concluded by saying that "there is only one thing that can bind peoples together and that is a common devotion to what is right."

This is "my land, my native land." Well, it isn't yours, not completely, until you lose yourself in its service.

We are the sons of sacred flame,
Our brows marked with a sacred name,
The company of souls supreme,
The conscripts of a mighty dream.

1955 All-America Cities Awards jury.

All-America Finalists Tell Jury Their Story

Eleven winners in the 1954 All-America Cities Awards competition, jointly sponsored by the National Municipal League and *Look* magazine, will be announced next month, climaxing the most successful operation of the contest in its six-year history.

Representatives of 22 finalists, which were winnowed from a record 225 cities, counties and villages nominated for Awards, stated their case before a jury of citizen leaders and experts in governmental affairs during the 60th Annual National Conference on Government in Kansas City last month. The finalists converged on Kansas City from points as distant as New Jersey and California.

Opening the hearings, Dr. George H. Gallup, League President and jury foreman, said: "The All-America Cities Awards . . . are given not for good government, efficient municipal administration or a specific improvement, as such, but rather for 'energetic, purposeful, intelligent citizen effort.'

"Some of the awards in other years have been made to communities where a remarkable record of courageous and well conceived citizen effort has been launched and aggressively pursued against entrenched forces which will require years to dislodge. In these cases, the awards have been a distinct aid to the citizen groups in furthering their good work.

"We hope citizens of the cities receiving recognition will consider the award a challenge to demonstrate that their interest and concern for the well-being of their community will be sustained."

The 22 finalists were: Beatrice, Nebraska; Burbank, California; Chicago; Decatur, Arkansas; El Cerrito, California; Elmwood Park, Illinois; Fort Wayne, Indiana; Johnson County, Kansas; Kettering, Ohio; Maricopa County, Arizona; Mexico, Missouri; Modesto, California; Newark, Parsippany-Troy Hills, and Passaic, New Jersey; Pendleton, Oregon; Pueblo, Colorado; Richfield, Minnesota; Riverside, California; Rock Island, Illinois; Rockville, Maryland; and Warren, Ohio.

Serving with Dr. Gallup on the jury were: Mrs. Albert D. Cash, former member, City Council, Cincinnati; Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, former president, League of Women Voters, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Ruth Robinson Roach, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Dean William L. Bradshaw, University of Missouri; Philip C. Ebeling, attorney, Dayton, Ohio; Leo Perlis, director of community services, CIO; Vernon Myers, publisher, *Look*; Mark S. Matthews, author and former president, U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce; Professor Donald H. Webster, University of Washington; Lloyd Hale, member, National Municipal League Council and president, G. H. Tennant Company, Minneapolis; and Powell C. Groner, president, Kansas City Public Service Company, and former vice president, U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

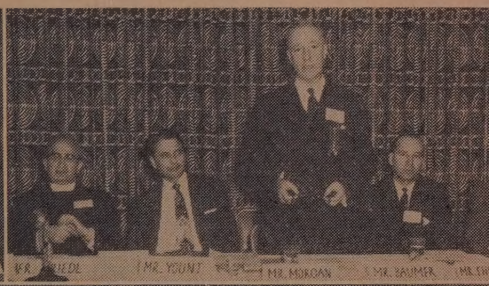
Something New Is Added

For the first time in the history of the National Conference on Government, America's Town Meeting of the Air, heard over 325 ABC stations, formed a feature of the program. The topic, "How Can We Divorce Crime From Politics?", was discussed by (left to right, above) Robert E. Merriam, Chicago alderman, Thomas F. Murray, Jr., moderator, and Norton Mockridge, crime reporter for the New York World-Telegram and The Sun. Mr. Mockridge advocated removal of law enforcement officials from political control. Mr. Merriam called upon citizens to devote more attention to local government. During the question period, a platoon of visitors to the conference lined up (below) to quiz the speakers. After the program Dr. Gallup presented the League's annual Distinguished Citizen Award to John B. Gage, former mayor of Kansas City (left). The citation praised Mr. Gage "for his steadfast devotion and faithful service to his community."

OPPOSITE PAGE: As usual, panel meetings formed a major portion of the Conference program. In a session on "The Urban County" chaired by Frank C. Moore, New York State's former lieutenant governor, Thomas H. Reed, veteran municipal consultant, makes a point (top). Another Council member, Lee M. Sharrar, chaired a session on traffic problems; he is shown listening to Mayor Roy Hofheinz of Houston, Texas. Cecil Morgan, League Council member, presided at "Industry's Responsibility for Achieving Sound Government," in which representatives of management and labor participated. High school students from the Kansas City area got into the act in "Youth in Civic Affairs" (next to bottom). A group of women discussed problems faced by their sex in government, politics and civic affairs (bottom).

MR. REED
MR. MOORE
MR. EDWARDS

MR. SHARRAR


MR. YOUNT
MR. MORGAN
MR. BAUMER

R. S. Childs Wins LaGuardia Award

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League Executive Committee, will receive the LaGuardia Memorial Award "for outstanding achievement in municipal government" at the fourth annual award luncheon of the LaGuardia Memorial Association at the Hotel Astor, New York City, December 11.

The award will be made on the 72nd anniversary of the birth of the late Fiorello H. LaGuardia, former mayor of New York City. It is presented by a group of his friends and associates who gather annually "to renew faith in his philosophy and rededicate ourselves to the ideal to which he devoted his life."

Mr. Childs was chosen recipient of the award from a group of nominees screened by the Graduate School of Public Administration and Social Service of New York University. The committee's selections were then submitted to an advisory panel consisting of de-Lesseps Morrison, mayor of New Orleans; Paul G. Hoffman, former chief of the Economic Corporation Administration; Harold S. Buttenheim, editor, *The American City*; John Nuveen, former U. S. Minister to Greece; and Mrs. Millicent McIntosh, president, Barnard College.

Known as the father of the council-manager plan, Mr. Childs will be cited for his efforts in the reform of state and local government and for his numerous unselfish contributions to civic improvement.

Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of City College, will be guest speaker.

New Constitution Adopted

A new constitution, the text of which appeared in the October NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, was adopted at the League's annual membership meeting in Kansas City, November 8.

The new instrument, which replaces one adopted September 20, 1932, is an outgrowth of a report by a survey committee appointed by League President George Gallup. A summary of this report also appeared in the October REVIEW.

Three New Model Laws Published by League

Two revisions of existing model laws and a model law on a new subject are being published this month by the National Municipal League.

L. Arnold Frye

The revisions are entitled *Model Voter Registration System* and *Model Real Property Tax Collection Law*. The third publication is *Model Investment of State Funds Law*. Each is priced at $1.

The two fiscal publications were prepared under the supervision of the League's Committee on a Program of Model Fiscal Legislation, of which L. Arnold Frye is chairman. Mr. Frye, a lawyer, is an authority in the municipal bond and debt field.

Dr. Joseph P. Harris, of the University of California, is chairman of the committee responsible for the registration law, and is author of the original text of this edition as he was of the three previous ones. The League first issued its *Model Voter Registration System* in January 1927.

Model County and Municipal Bond Law

Prepared by the National Municipal League's Committee on a Program of Model Fiscal Legislation for Local Governments, Arnold Frye, Chairman.

- "An attempt to rationalize local government borrowing so as to end obsolete procedures and the abuses that have developed during the post-war binge of municipal borrowing."—*New York Times.*
- "This pocket-sized pamphlet of scarcely more than 50 pages . . . contains information of exceptional value to many county and municipal organizations."—*New York Law Journal.*
- "Another step . . . to improve state laws dealing with the issuance of municipal bonds."—*Wall Street Journal.*

54 pages • Price $1.00 (Discounts on Quantity Orders)

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Last Word On the Council-Manager Plan!

It's a pleasure to announce that two of our most popular works on the council-manager form of local government are now available in new, completely revised editions. They are:

The Story of the Council-Manager Plan

25th Edition, 36 Pages, 20¢. (Contains a directory of 1,241 places where the plan is in effect.)

Manager Plan Abandonments

4th Edition, Prepared by ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, 40 Pages, 50¢.

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Indispensable tools for the conscientious civic worker, state and local official, political scientist and newsman.

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Tools for Achieving Better Government

Citizen groups often turn to the League for help in achieving better government in their locality. Listed below are some of the tools available to them:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1954) ..... $ .20
Charts: Council-manager Form, Commission Form, Mayor-council Form (17½ x 22½"), 50 cents each, set of three 1.00
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950) ..... .20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1953) ..... .25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954) ..... .05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1952) ..... .05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1953) ..... .05
P. R., 12 pages (1952) ..... .05
The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1953) .75
The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages (1953) ..... .75

(The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for $1.20)

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946) ..... .75
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948) ..... .75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941) 1.50
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953) 1.00
Model County Charter (New edition in preparation.) 1.00
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951) 1.00
Model Investment of State Funds Law, 23 pages (1954) 1.00
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 40 pages (1954) 1.00
Model State and Regional Planning Law (1954) 1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 32 pages (1953) ..... .75
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948) 1.00
Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1954) ..... .50
Model Voter Registration System, 56 pages (1954) 1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946) ..... .35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954) ..... .15
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952) 3.50
Citizen Organization for Political Activity: The Cincinnati Plan. 32 pages (1949) ..... .50
Coroners in 1953—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 90 pages, mimeographed (1954) 2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1954) 2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 44 pages (1952) ..... .75
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1954) .50
The Metropolitan Problem—Current Research, Opinion, Action, by Guthrie S. Birkhead (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 12 pages (1953) ..... .25
More Responsible States. Panel Discussion, National Conference on Government, Richmond, Virginia, 33 pages, mimeographed (1953) .50
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951) ..... .10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940) ..... .25
Women as Campaigners. Panel Discussion, National Conference on Government, Richmond, Virginia, 32 pages, mimeographed (1954) .50

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